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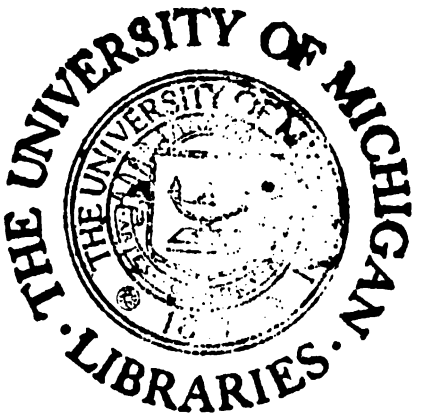

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THE

PRESENT STATE

OF

TURKEY.

VOL. I.

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THE

PRESENT STATE

OF

TURKEY;

OR

A DESCRIPTION

OF

THE POLITICAL, CIVIL, AND RELIGIOUS, CONSTITUTION, GOVERNMENT, AND LAWS

OF THE

OTTOMAN EMPIRE;

THE FINANCES, MILITARY AND NAVAL ESTABLISHMENTS;
THE STATE OF LEARNING, AND OF THE LIBERAL AND MECHANICAL ARTS;
THE MANNERS AND DOMESTIC ECONOMY OF THE TURKS AND OTHER SUBJECTS
OF THE GRAND SIGNOR; &c. &c.

TOGETHER WITH

THE GEOGRAPHICAL, POLITICAL, AND CIVIL, STATE OF THE PRINCIPALITIES OF

MOLDAVIA AND WALLACHIA.

FROM OBSERVATIONS MADE, DURING A RESIDENCE OF FIFTEEN YEARS IN
CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE TURKISH PROVINCES,

BY THOMAS THORNTON, ESQ.

VOL. I.

THE SECOND EDITION, WITH CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

"Nec a festinante et vehementer occupato elegantiam orationis, quam ne meditatus quidem et otiosus præstare possem, æquum est requirere. Me quidem consolabitur nullius mendacii sibi conscius animus; quod est in hujusmodi narrationibus præcipue spectandum."

BUSBEQUII Epist. i.

LONDON:

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INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

Origin and monarchy of the Turks in Asia.—Empire of Mahomet and the caliphs.—Usurpations and dynasties of the Turks and Turcmans.—Kingdom of Roum or Anatolia.—Embassy of the Byzantine emperor to the council of Placentia.—The crusades.—Conquests of Jenghiz Khan.—Emigration of the Othmanidæ.—Osman, son of Ertogrul, founder of the Ottoman dynasty:—his military, political, and civil, government.—Orkhan.—Murad the First.—Bajazet the First.—Interregnum.—Mahomet the First.—Murad the Second.—Mahomet the Second.—Bajazet the Second.—Selim the First.—Soliman the First.—Selim the Second.—Murad the Third.—Mahomet the Third.—Ahmed the First.—Mustafa the First.—Osman the Second.—Murad the Fourth.—Ibrahim.—Mahomet the Fourth.—Soliman the Second.—Ahmed the Second.—Mustafa the Second.—Ahmed the Third.—Mahmud.—Osman the Third.—Mustafa the Third.—Abdulhamid.—Selim the Third.

Origin and monarchy of the Turks in Asia.

THE high antiquity of the Turks is attested by the Persian and Arabian writers, as well as by those of their own nation. The Persian traditions relate, that Turc, who gave his name to Turkistan, and Iredj, to whom

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the Persian kings ascribe their origin, were sons of the same father. Abulfaragius, an Arabian author, in his universal history of dynasties, enumerates the Turks among the seven original races of mankind, who, according to his account, are the Persians, Chaldæans, Greeks, Egyptians, Turks, Indians, and Chinese. The Turkish writers assert their descent from Japhet by Turc, the eldest of his eight sons, the founder of the Tartar race, who fixed his residence at Selinkiah, allured by the salubrity of the air and the purity of the waters. The Greeks confounded this people under the general name of Scythians, and their country under that of Scythia; but the oriental geographers divide it into four parts, the most fertile and populous of which borders on the Caspian sea, and is watered by the Oxus. The hordes who over-ran the western parts of Asia and the eastern division of the Roman empire, issued chiefly from this district*.

* See Jenisch, de fatis ling. Orient. prefixed to Meninski's lexicon. edit. Vienna 1780. Pliny, in the 7th chapter of the 6th book of his natural history, makes mention of the Sarmatians, inhabitants of the country about the Tanaïs, among whose families he enumerates the Turks. "Turcæ, usque ad solitudines saltuosis convallibus asperas, ultra quas Arimphæi, qui ad Ri-

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The most remote ancestors of the Turks, of whom authentic history makes mention, before Christ 1200.

phæos pertinent montes." Also Pomponius Mela, towards the end of the 19th chapter of the 1st book, de situ orbis. "Fœcundos pabulo juxta Mæotim, at alias steriles nudosque campos tenent Budini: Geloni urbem ligneam habitant: juxta Thyssagetæ Turcæque vastas silvas occupant, alunturque venando." Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in the book de administrando imperio, at the beginning of the 37th chapter, says, that "towards the end of the ninth century the Uzi, uniting with the Charazi, expelled the Patzinacitæ from their country beyond the Volga; these, in search of a new settlement, fell upon the Turks, and drove them out of their country near the Tanaïs." Such was the imperfect knowledge which European writers possessed of the Turkish nation even so late as the middle of the tenth century. These tribes, of whom they barely mention the names, inhabited the eastern coast of the sea of Azoff, and the plains which lie between the Don and the Dnieper: they were separated from the great body of the nation, and continued to retreat before the invaders across the Dniester and the Danube, until they reached Great Moravia (now called Transilvania and Hungary), where they settled and became incorporated with the ancient inhabitants. (See Peyssonnel, observations historiques et géographiques sur les peuples barbares qui ont habité les bords du Danube et du Pont-Euxin, p. xxxviii. 4to. Paris 1765.) In the year 1068 the Uzi, a Moldavian horde of the Turkish race, served in the Roman armies, and under the same name, or that of Gozz, as they are called by the orientals, they appear on the Volga, and in Armenia, Syria, and Khorassan. (See Gibbon, hist. of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, v. x, p. 218, note 40; and p. 355, note 31. 8vo. London 1802.) The Charazi are said to be the same as the Magiars, by which name the modern Hungarians are known to the Ottoman Turks. (See Peysonnel, p. xxxix.) The Patzinacitæ are supposed by Leunclavius to be the inhabitants of Bosnia, who still call themselves

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were the wandering tribes of *Hiong-nou*, or Huns, who dwelt under tents, and occupied with their flocks and herds the extensive plains which lie to the north of China. The foundation of their first empire is carried back to the year 1200 before the birth of Christ. It included the whole of Asiatic Tartary, and was dissolved by the dissensions of the reigning family, and the victories of the Chinese. The dispersed Huns emigrated to different countries. Part of them invaded Europe in the reign of the emperor Valens, and founded an empire which subsisted till the year 468. The rest were confounded with the Avars*. The Turks, a branch of the ancient family of the

Botzinaki, but it must be observed, that the inhabitants of Bosnia are Slavi, and that De Guignes (hist. des Huns, t. i, part. i, p. 230. Paris 1756 à 1758) derives the Patzinacitæ from the Turks or Huns.

* See De Guignes, t. i, part. i, p. 215—218. The subject of the epic poem of Ferdusi (*shah nameh*) is the war of Cyrus with Afrasiab, the Turkish or Hunnish monarch. (See Sir William Jones's works, v. v, p. 594. 4to. London 1799.) A celebrated system of unwritten laws called *yasac* (which in modern Turkish signifies forbidden or prohibited) anciently prevailed in Tartary, and was republished by Jenghiz Khan. Tamerlane is said to have almost preferred it to the *koran*. (See Jones's works, v. i, p. 65. Gibbon, Roman hist. v. vii, p. 287; v. xii, p. 43, note 68.)

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Huns, continued to inhabit the Altaï mountains, but were subject to the Geougen Tartars, until the year 552, when their chief renounced his allegiance and made war upon his master, wrested the empire from him by repeated victories, and assumed the sovereign title of *khan*. The Turkish empire which was thus established in Tartary, extended eastward as far as China, and thence, along the frontiers of India and Persia, to the lake Mæotis and the confines of the Roman empire. Its influence on the affairs of the Romans was felt only so far as the Turks impelled the tribes whose country they invaded towards the Roman frontiers, or in the occasional alliances of the two nations, and the powerful diversion which the Turks made on the side of the Oxus, against their common enemy the Persians. The history of their foreign or domestic wars, the subversion or dissolution of their empire after a duration of two hundred and eleven years, and the subsequent dispersion of their families, are little connected with the subject of the present work*, until about the middle A. D. 762.

* See De Guignes, t. i, part. 1, p. 225, 227. The Altaï mountains were productive of minerals, and the mines were worked by the Turks during a period of 450 years for the use of the great *khan* of the Geougen. From the name of the moun-

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A. D. 868. of the third century of the hegira, when a considerable body of Turkish youth, expelled from their country, taken in war, or purchased in trade, were enlisted in the service of the Arabian caliphs of the house of Abbas, and were embodied for the purpose of guarding the person of the sovereign and overawing domestic factions. This transient relief entailed on the successors to the caliphat a permanent evil of a more grievous nature; for we read, immediately after, of the seditions of the Turkish guards on account of their pay being in arrears, of their combinations in acts of regicide and rebellion, and of their uncontrolled dilapidations of the public treasure: they seized upon every lucrative or honourable office, assumed to themselves the effective government of the state, the command of the armies and the provinces, and, wherever employed, they gradually advanced from offices of public importance to the sovereignty over their former masters*.

tains, and that of the lake Altyn, which lies at the foot of them, I suppose, that they contained *gold* mines. The royal camp, or residence of the Turkish *khans*, was on the same mountains, and was situated, according to the observation of a Chinese astronomer, in the latitude of forty-nine degrees. (See Gibbon, Rom. hist. v. vii, p. 285, 289.)

* See De Guignes, t. i, part. i, p. 237. Abulfaragii hist. comp. dynast. p. 175, 176. ed. Oxon. 1663.

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Empire of Mahomet and the caliphs.

Date of the hegira, July 16th, A. D. 622.

The empire founded in Arabia by the prophet Mahomet, and extended by the rapid conquests of his successors as far as mount Atlas and the Pyrenees, had been weakened by division, and shaken by the contention of powerful parties for the right of succession to the caliphat*. Moavia, governor of Syria, refused to acknowlege the sovereignty of Ali, the fourth caliph, and declared war against him in order to avenge the blood of his predecessor Othman. He obtained, rather by artifice than by force, the cession of Syria and Egypt, and, on the assassination of Ali and the abdication of his son Hassan, transferred the caliphat, in the forty-first year of the hegira, to the family of Ommias, the uncle of Mahomet, from whom he was descended†. Fourteen princes of this dynasty, whose seat of government was in the city of Damascus, swayed the Mussulman sceptre for about a century, notwithstanding some partial insurrections in favour of the house

* The word *caliph* signifies vicar or lieutenant. The dignity was instituted by Mahomet himself, during his occasional absences from Medina, in the second year of the hegira. (See D'Ohsson, tableau général de l'empire Othoman, t. i, p. 214. 8vo. Paris 1788.)

† See De Guignes, t. i, part. 1, p. 324. Tab. Gen. t. i, p. 216—223.

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of Ali, whose pretensions expired with Mehhdy, the twelfth *imam*, who disappeared in the year of the hegira two hundred and fifty-five, and, as the Persians believe, still exists upon earth, and will again appear to assert the rights of his house, and to establish his caliphat over the whole world*. Abd'ullah the First, surnamed Seffah, the descendant of Abbas the cousin of Mahomet, restored the caliphat to the race of Haschim, by the extermination of all the Ommiades who fell into his power†. It continued in the family of the Abassides for the space of five hundred and twenty-three years, under the dominion of thirty-seven successive caliphs. Bagdad was the capital of their empire, which consisted of Armenia, Syria, Per-

* The Ottomans believe, that Mehhdy will be the precursor of the day of judgment, and the vicar of Jesus Christ in calling all nations to the knowledge of Islamism. (See Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 267.)

† He collected together ninety-two princes of this unfortunate family, and sent in among them his servants armed with heavy clubs, who despatched them all. He then ordered carpets and mats to be spread over the heap of bodies, and made a sumptuous entertainment amidst the groans of his expiring enemies. Abd'urrahman was the only one who escaped: he fled into Spain, where he founded the caliphat of the *beno-ummeyé*. (See Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 238, 239.)

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sia, Arabia, Egypt, and a part of India*. Their reigns were however disturbed by the pretensions of the Fatimites, the presumed descendants of the house of Ali by Fatima the daughter of Mahomet, who, regarding their ancestor as the rightful heir to the caliphat, on account of his relationship and his early and constant attachment to the prophet, branded not only the Abassides, but the immediate successors of Mahomet, with the name of traitors and usurpers, as the Abassides had, in their turn, stigmatized the caliphs of the house of Ommias. The dynasty of the Fatimites was first established in Africa. In the year 358 of the hegira they conquered Egypt, and built the city of Cairo for the seat of their government. Their spiritual supremacy was, however, acknowledged only by their own subjects, and, at the end of three centuries, it was again restored to the house of Abbas †. The caliphs of this latter dynasty, even after the death of Mostasem and the almost total extinction of A. D. 1258.

* See De Guignes, t. i, part. 1, p. 327. Tab. Gen. t. i, p. 232.

† The Fatimites, as well as the Ommiades who reigned in Spain, are considered as anti-caliphs by the orthodox Mussulmans. (See Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 283.)

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their family in Bagdad by the Mogol Tartars, retired to Egypt, and continued to exercise spiritual dominion over the faithful, until the reduction of that ancient kingdom to
A. D. 1519. a province of the Ottoman empire*.

The prophet Mahomet, who left no male issue, appears to have felt but little anxiety to ensure to his successors the temporal authority which he himself had exercised over his followers. A few days before his death he commissioned Abubekir to preside in his stead at the public prayers†, but though he foretold, that the perfection, or legitimacy, of the caliphat would be destroyed after thirty years, and that it would give place to governments established by force, usurpation, and tyranny‡, he omitted to establish any order of succession to the priesthood and the throne, either from an ignorance of the science of government, or from an unwillingness to weaken the authority of his divine mission by admitting the

* See De Guignes, t. i, part. 1, p. 331, 332, 369. Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 233—238.

† See Mignot, hist. de l'emp. Ottom. t. i, p. 29. 12mo. Paris 1771. Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 214, 278.

‡ This prediction was accomplished by the murder of the caliph Ali, after whom Mussulmans acknowledge only an imperfect caliphat. (See Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 212, 225.)

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contingency of his own death; and in fact, according to the Arabian historians, the angel of death, who attended on Mahomet in his last moments, did not dare to receive his soul till the agonizing prophet had himself signified his assent *. Abubekir and the two succeeding caliphs founded their title, not on the appointment of the prophet or their connexion with his family, but on their own influence in the state, and the choice of their companions. The right of Ali, who united to his title of kinsman of the prophet the free election of the Mussulmans, would have been undisputed, if he had not been implicated in, or at least accused of being accessary to, the murder of Othman. The unwarlike disposition of the son of Ali, and his resignation of the sovereignty to his rivals, interrupted the order of hereditary succession, but this principle of government, when

* See Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 199. The death of Mahomet was doubted, and even denied by the most zealous of his disciples, after the event had taken place. Omar drew his scymetar in the midst of the assembly, and threatened to put to death any one who should dare to assert, that the prophet was no more. The faithful multitude would have submitted to the impression, if Abubekir had not convinced them by his eloquence, that not Mahomet, but the God of Mahomet, was the only infinite and immortal being. (See Mignot, t. i, p. 28.)

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once admitted, continued afterwards to be acknowledged *.

The Abassides, as well as the Ommiades, ran the usual round of despotism. The few political maxims which had been transmitted by tradition from Mahomet to the caliphs, were insufficient for the regular government of their extensive empire. They passed from the labours of conquest and the acquisition of wealth to the criminal indulgence of their passions and the total neglect of the duties of royalty. At the end of three centuries their temporal sovereignty was taken from them, and though they retained the title of caliph, and the ostensible exercise of spiritual authority, even this powerful engine was wielded only to strengthen the authority, or to gratify the caprice, of the slaves who ruled over the empire and its master †.

Usurpations and dynasties of the Turks and Turcmans.

The most powerful of the Turkish families who thus usurped the sovereign authority, were the Toulonides in Egypt, and the Samanides and Ghaznevides in Persia ‡. Nu-

* See Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 279, 281, 282.

† See Voltaire, essai sur les mœurs, chap. liii. 8vo. Paris 1784. See in the Tableau Général, t. i, p. 237—245, the character and the crimes of many of these caliphs and their generals.

‡ See De Guignes, t. i, part. i, p. 237—239, for the Tou-

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merous hordes of the same people continued, however, to wander over the plains which border the Caspian sea and the Persian empire. The Turkish kings, unmindful of the instruction to be derived from the history of their own elevation, resorted to the dangerous practice and policy of the caliphs, enlisted in their service the robust youth of the Turcman tribes, and were in their turn supplanted on the throne of Persia by the shepherd kings, who established the dynasty of Seljuk, and extended their empire from Samarcand to the confines of Anatolia and Syria*.

The Roman empire was first invaded by the Turks about the middle of the eleventh century. Their conquest of Asia Minor was authorized, and even suggested, by the caliph of Bagdad, in order to settle a dispute between the Seljukian sultan, Malek Shah, and his kinsmen, the five sons of Cutulmisch who had fallen in battle against his father. Soliman, the eldest of these sons, accepted the royal standard, and by his rapid victories established his hereditary command over

A. D. 1038.

Kingdom of Roum or Anatolia.

lonides and their successors the Ikshidites: p. 239—240, for the Ghaznevides: p. 404—406, for the Samanides.

* See Gibbon, Rom. hist. v. x, p. 333, 342, 343, 344.

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the new kingdom of Roum, which, with the exception of Trebizond, comprehended the several provinces of Asia from Antioch and the eastern boundaries of Armenia to the Bosphorus and the Hellespont*. The eldest branch of the family of Seljuk continued to fill the throne of Persia, and commanded the fealty of the royal brethren, who, under the common name of Seljukian princes, ruled over the kingdoms of Kerman, Syria, and Roum. The city of Nice in Bithynia, within an hundred miles of Constantinople, was chosen by the sultans of this latter dynasty to be the metropolis of their kingdom and the seat of their government. These provinces, irretrievably sacrificed on the fatal day when the emperor Romanus Diogenes was defeated†, were ceded in a formal manner by the treaty of Chrysopolis, or *Scutari*, and it was not till after the death of Sultan Soliman, with whom the treaty had been made, that the emperor Alexius extended the eastern boundary of the Roman world as far as Nico-

* See D'Herbelot, bibliothèque Orientale, p. 721, voc. Roum. fol. Paris 1697. Cantemir, history of the growth and decay of the Othman empire, p. 20, note 6. fol. London 1734. Description of Asia in Sir William Jones's works, v. v, p. 584.

† See Gibbon, Rom. hist. v. x, p. 358.

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media, about sixty miles from Constantinople.

In the distress occasioned by the near approach of so formidable an enemy to the seat of the Byzantine empire, Alexius was induced to send his ambassadors to solicit succour from the princes of Europe, and to represent his case, as involving the general interests of the Christian world, before the council of Placentia, which was at that time assembled by Urban the Second. The resentment of Christendom had been already excited against the Turks by their conquest of the city of Jerusalem, and their molestation of the pilgrims who resorted in numerous bodies to perform their devotions at the holy sepulchre; and a confederation of the princes of Europe was resolved upon for the purpose of expelling them from Palestine, to which design the relief of Constantinople was necessarily subordinate.

Embassy of the Byzantine emperor to the council of Placentia. A. D. 1095.

By means of the crusaders, whose first achievement, the siege and capture of Nice, was followed by a decisive victory over the sultan's troops in the battle of Dorylæum, Alexius was enabled to regain the sovereignty over several of the maritime and inland fortified cities of Asia Minor. The Turks were

The crusades. A. D. 1095—1099.

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expelled from the islands of Rhodes and Chios. Ephesus, Smyrna, Sardes, Philadelphia, and Laodicea, were restored to the empire, which now extended over the entire circuit of the coast of Anatolia, from Trebizond to the Syrian gates. The Seljukian sultans, who were thus removed from communication with the sea by the conquests of the emperors, were also separated from their Mussulman brethren by those of the crusaders, and especially by the establishment of the Christian principality of Antioch and the kingdom of Jerusalem, with their fiefs and dependencies. Indeed their power was so shaken by the victories of the Franks, and their empire so contracted by the encroachments of the Byzantine emperors, that they were compelled to remove the seat of government to Iconium, or *Conya*, an obscure and inland town, above three hundred miles from Constantinople.

In the mean time, the transitory dominion of the Franks in Asia, though supported by seven ill-conducted expeditions from Europe, and the mutual jealousy of the Fatimite caliphs of Egypt and the Turkish sultans of Damascus, was subverted by the efforts of the Saracens and Turks, and the genius

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of the *atabek* sultans Zenghi, Noureddin, and Saladin*. This event was facilitated by their conquests over the Fatimites, which united under their sceptre the countries from the Tigris to the Nile. On the death of Saladin, the unity of his empire was broken: the hostile interests of the governors of Egypt, Damascus, and Aleppo again revived, and again subsided under the reign of the Mameluke sultans of the Baharite and Borgite dynasties, a race of Turcman and Circassian slaves, whose sway, supported by valour and discipline, and transmitted not to their heirs, but to the most deserving of their dependents†, extended over Egypt, Nubia, Arabia, and Syria, and who effected, after a struggle of two centuries, the expulsion of the Franks from Palestine and the termination of the holy war. A. D. 1291.

The general confusion of the age introduced by the incursions and ravages of Jenghiz Khan and his successors, who conquered every thing between the Ægean and the Yellow sea, induced the *emirs*, or governors of the pro- Conquests of Jenghiz Khan. A. D. 1206—1227.

* See Abulfaragius, p. 250—267. D'Herbelot, bibl. Orient. voc. *Atabek*. De Guignes, t. ii, part. ii, p. 147—221.

† See D'Herbelot, bibl. Orient. voc. *Mamlouk*.

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vinces of Anatolia which had escaped the ravages of the Mogols, to renounce their allegiance to the sultans and to assume independent power*.

Emigration of the Othmanides.

Such was the general state of Asia and the Greek empire when, in the 611th year of the hegira and 1214th of the Christian æra, the great ancestor of the Ottoman princes, Soliman Shah, encouraged by the example, or alarmed at the progress, of Jenghiz Khan, quitted his settlements in Khorassan, a province of Persia, and his native city Mahan, and leading forth his subjects and associates to new conquests, first approached the confines of Anatolia. His conquests and his life were terminated by the river Euphrates, which he attempted to pass on horseback. His forces were divided among his four sons, and again united under Ertogrul, the eldest, who employed them in aiding the sultan of Iconium to conquer and expel the dispersed Tartars of Jenghiz Khan's expedition. He merited, by preserving and extending the sultan's dominions, the rank of generalissimo of his armies, which he bequeathed to his son Osman, whose ambition assumed no higher title until, on the abdica-

* See Cantemir, Ottom. hist. preface p. xii; p. 60, note 7.

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tion of the second Aladin, he seized and retained the sovereign power over the district which had been confided to his government*.

Osman, the founder of the empire which is still honoured with his name, was led in early life by the love of piety and learning to seek improvement in the society of *sheiks* and *ulema*, venerable for the austerity of their manners or the extent of their knowledge. A *sheik* in the neighbourhood of Eski Shehr, named Edebaly, possessed still greater attractions for the young prince in the personal charms of his daughter, Malhun-hatynn. Osman had seen her by chance or by design, and was smitten with her beauty, but he was deterred from marrying her by the apprehension of his father's displeasure, and restrained by the lady's prudence from a clandestine engagement. The governor of the city, whom Osman had entreated to use his good offices in order to obtain the approbation of his father, was inflamed by his description, and privately sought, but failed in obtaining, the lady's hand. His treachery and the resentment of Osman involved the citizens in the

Osman, son of Ertogrul, founder of the Ottoman dynasty:

* See Cantemir, p. 2—14.

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horrors of civil war. The anxious desire of possessing his beautiful mistress, and the necessity of obtaining his father's consent, suggested to the prince an artifice which was justified by the manners of the age and the credulity of Ertogrul's character. He dreamed, or invented a dream:—a meteor, beaming with a mild light like that of the moon, arose from the side of the *sheïk*, and rested on the navel of Osman, whence sprang a tree, whose top reached to the skies, and whose branches, bending under rich foliage and delicious fruit, extended to the furthest extremities of the universe: one bough, distinguished from the rest by a more lively verdure and resembling a sabre in its form, stretched out to the west towards Constantinople: all the riches and beauties of nature were spread out under the canopy of this wonderful tree, and invited the various tribes of mortals to enjoy the sweets of prosperity without the necessity of toil. The natural interpretation of such a prodigy pointed out the *sheïk*, who was himself skilled in the art of developing mysteries, as the future father-in-law of a monarch, already united to him in community of faith, whose race, as was typified by the mysterious tree *Tuba*, one of

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the wonders of paradise, should multiply their possessions, and extend their sway beyond the capital of the eastern empire. Such reasoning, seconded by the blooming beauties of Malhun-hatynn, was irresistible. Osman was submissive to the divine decree, and it even carried such full conviction to the devout Ertogrul that he was no less impatient than his son to hasten the accomplishment of the prediction*.

The relaxed state of government and military discipline among the Romans, encouraged the inroads of the Turks, which continued with unremitting success, till Mahomet the Second, in the year fourteen hundred and fifty-three, placed himself on the throne of the Cæsars. The power of the Ottoman sultans gradually extended from the banks of the Dnieper to the cataracts of the Nile, and from the Adriatic sea to the Persian gulf, over that portion of the globe which seems most favoured by nature, and which has been the parent, or the nurse, of all the sciences and all the arts of civilized life.

When we survey an empire of this vast

his military, political, and civil, government. A. D. 1299—1326.

* See Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 353—369. Knolles, Turkish history, v. i, p. 94, 6th edit. London 1687.

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extent reduced to the subjection of a family which but three centuries before had sought refuge at the head of four hundred outcasts from the sultan of Iconium*; when we reflect, that the conquests of this small band of adventurers were made in countries, over a small portion of which the allied powers of western Europe, from Rome to Britain, animated with native valour and the enthusiasm of religion, had with difficulty succeeded in establishing themselves even for a short period; our inquiries are naturally directed towards the means which were employed, and the conduct which was pursued, in the accomplishment. We are led to expect in the history of the Ottomans the practice of the same virtues, and the development of the same talents, which, after a longer and more obstinate struggle, had given to the Roman people the dominion of the world. We find indeed in the earlier history of both people many strong traits of resemblance, both in their habits of life and their modes of warfare†; and if the Turks had adopted the Roman maxim of renouncing their own, as

* See Gibbon, v. xi, p. 432.

† See Montesquieu, considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains, et de leur décadence, chap. i.

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soon as they had discovered any better usages, and of profiting by instructions which they might receive even from their enemies, the Ottoman dominion would perhaps have been distinguished both by its universality and its permanence.

One great cause of the prosperity common to both empires in their incipient state and their early progress, was, that both were governed by a succession of rulers of extraordinary talents, of which no example is to be found in any other Asiatic dynasty besides the Turkish. To the genius of the kings of Rome may indeed be ascribed the superior merit of having elicited the martial qualities and latent energies of their subjects, while the Ottoman sultans were themselves cast in the mould of pre-existing institutions. Commanding a people possessed neither of industry nor skill, neither of commerce nor arts, but dependent, almost for their subsistence, on robbery and violence, desirous of war from education, from habit, and the confidence of superiority, restless from the near prospect of enjoyments, which were with-held from them only by nations corrupted by wealth and enervated by luxury, the sultans were naturally led to gratify the

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predominant propensity of their nation, because it favoured at once the extension of their empire, the propagation of their religious belief, the pride of victory, and the lust of domination. Every thing conspired to make them consider the moments as lost which were not devoted to ambition, or occupied in the conquest of the infidels.

The first attack of an army stimulated by such powerful motives, was furious and generally irresistible. The Turks living amid the havoc of perpetual hostilities, were necessarily superior in strength, in experience, in skill, and more especially in that confidence of success by which victory is so often won, to a people averse from war, which they regarded as an interruption of their ordinary and more agreeable pursuits, and who, after repelling an imminent danger, immediately relapsed into their former habits of luxury and indolence. Hence the Turks became the terror and the envy of their antagonists and rivals: and when they had discovered the means of supporting a body of regular troops who were continually in the field, it operated as a new invention in the art, and gave them an infinite advantage in the conflicts of war*.

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The immediate cause, the chief engine, of their success were, as may be remarked in several other instances in history, a rigorous attention to military discipline, and a consequent accession of military skill†. At an earlier period, the military science of the Greeks, and the numerous armies of Persia, had been forced to yield to the compact pressure of the Macedonian phalanx: the phalanx in its turn was vanquished by the legion, the last and chief improvement of ancient warfare, which, if its discipline had not been relaxed, would have upheld the Roman empire against external enemies for an unlimited period. On the abolition of the legion a barbarian system succeeded, and the west of Europe was covered with warriors, who, though possessing individually the greatest address in warlike exercises, emulated only the personal achievements of heroic warfare, and led on the great bodies of their soldiers by imitation and example, ra-

* See Tab. Gén. t. iv, p. 487. Mignot, hist. Ottom. t. i, p. 101. Gibbon, v. xi, p. 435, 446.

† See in Cantemir, p. 25, and in the Tab. Gén. t. iv, p. 116, the first establishment of regular pay and uniforms (though only with respect to the colour and shape of the turban) among the Ottoman troops.

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ther than by an adherence to any principle of tactics or any system of combined operations.

The high spirit which animated the descendants of the Normans and Germans had now retired from distant and fruitless crusades, and was occupied chiefly in the wars, or the domestic feuds, of Europe. The eastern empire had protracted its feeble existence by arts calculated to debase the ruler, and to extinguish every spark of manly fire in the breasts of the people. The court of Constantinople had practised perjury and treachery, had submitted to insult and public reprimand: it had averted evil by degradation, by the payment of tribute, and by alliance with the petty captains of savage hordes. The Byzantine emperors opposed to the hardy and ferocious bands of Turkish warriors, to the keen swords and close array of the youthful and vigorous janizaries, only foreign mercenaries or natives acting from mercenary motives; "strangers without faith, veterans without pay or arms, and recruits without experience or discipline*." The contest could not long remain doubtful, and by the natural

* Gibbon, v. x, p. 352.

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operation of those immutable laws which regulate human affairs, the timorous precautions, the delays, the intrigues, the conflicting passions, of a vitiated, declining, and debilitated, government, necessarily sunk before the boldness of conception, the unity of plan, the promptitude of execution, of a mind fixed on the attainment of extended sovereignty, and opposing to idleness and luxury the vigorous habit of exercise and temperance.

The unwarlike Greeks were not, however, the only enemies with whom the Ottomans had to contend. The downfal of the Byzantine empire was retarded by the fears, or the jealousy, of the *emirs* who still exercised independent power over the fairest provinces of the Seljukian monarchy. The territory of Sugut, on the banks of the Sangar, the hereditary lordship of the Ottomans in Bithynia, was inferior in extent and importance to many of those governments which were held by princes of the house of Aladin*. The sovereignty of the *emir* of Cara-

* The Turks call it diminutively *Suguchic* (Cantemir, preface p. xiii), or *Seugutdjik*. (Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 355.) Ertogrul was buried in this town, and his tomb is to this day held in veneration by the Ottomans.

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mania, which derives it name from the mountain Amanus, extended over Cilicia, and part of the frontiers of Lycaonia, Pamphilia, Caria, and the greater Phrygia. Ionia Maritima, as far as the city of Smyrna, obeyed the family of Sarukhan. The chief part of Lydia, with some part of Mysia, Troas, and Phrygia, formed the principality of Caraz or Kars. Aidin consisted of the greatest part of Mysia, together with some part of Lydia. The principality of Mentes derived its name from a city in Caria called Mendos or Myndus. The city of Boli was the seat of government of the sons of Omur, whose sway extended over Paphlagonia and Pontus, comprising the cities of Heraclea, Castamona, Sinope, and several others on the Euxine sea*. These were the chief divisions of the

* See Nicephorus Gregoras, l. vii, i. Leunclavius, historiæ Musulmanicæ Turcorum, p. 23. fol. Francofurti 1591. Chalcondylas, l. i. Knolles, v. i, p. 89. D'Herbelot, bibl. Orient. voc. *Carman, Caraz ili, Aidin, Boli.* De Guignes, t. ii, part. ii, p. 76, 77. Mignot, t. i, p. 91. Gibbon, v. xi, p. 436.

The names or titles of the several governors, exclusively of the sultan of Iconium, are thus enumerated in the Turkish annals (see Cantemir, preface, p. xii); but it would be impossible to ascertain the boundaries of their respective territories. "Churzem Shah (which, he says, signifies king of Caspia), Caramanogli,

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Seljukian territory, which was peopled by a race of men united by their common origin, by the use of the same language, and the profession of the same religion. Their princes inherited the spirit of independence and love of war which, in that age, seemed to be congenial to the Turkish character; but tranquillity was preserved among them by a maxim, sanctified by the Mahometan religion and revered by its professors, that the swords of Mussulmans should not be drawn against orthodox believers*. There were, however, several maritime and inland cities and castles in Asia Minor, and more especially on the borders of Osman's territory, which were still possessed by the Christian subjects of the Byzantine emperors, and were intermingled with those of the Turks, with whom continual and mutual aggressions produced constant war†. Osman had been

Azerbejan, Germianogli, Hamidogli, Kutrum Bayezid, Isfindarbey, Ahmedholamir, Tekkebey, Zuulcadirbey."

For the present divisions of these principalities, which now compose the *beylerbeylik*, or vice-royalty, of Anatolia, see Marsigli, stato militare dell' impèrio Ottomanno, t. i, p. 105—109. Haya 1732.

* See Mignot, t. i, p. 103, also Cantemir, p. 27; and p. 149, note 13.

† See Knolles, v. i, p. 95, 96, 98. Cantemir, p. 26.

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authorized by the sultan of Iconium to extend his conquests on the side of the infidels, and to annex to his own dominion whatever he could wrest from them by force or policy*. The Asiatic Greeks, thus insulated among powerful and irreconcileable enemies, could not protect themselves by union or confederacy, and despaired of succour from the Byzantine emperors, who, after the feeble effort of Andronicus to raise the siege of Nice, withdrew their attention from Asia to the distracted state and domestic broils of their capital, and to their few remaining European provinces, while they left their subjects in Asia to the weak defence of their own territories†. In the mean time Osman, by frequent and important acquisitions in Phrygia, Mysia, and Bithynia, laid the foundations of his empire: in his own life-time he extended it to the shores of the Hellespont, and established his seat of government in the city of Brusa. The Seljukian *emirs* saw with envy the extension of Osman's dominion over the cities of the Greeks, and endeavoured, rather by secret policy than open hostilities,

* See Purchas his pilgrimage, chap. viii, sec. 3, p. 319.

† See Knolles, v. i, p. 99. Cantemir, p. 18.

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to check his progress and disturb his tranquillity. But Osman had so terrified the Christians, by his consummate skill and sanguinary practice in war, that they cautiously avoided giving him any cause of offence. Before his power was firmly established he prudently connected himself, by a general treaty of amity, with the surrounding chieftains: but while the terror of his name enforced on the weaker members of the confederacy the strict observance of the conditions, he reserved to himself the right, as he possessed the means, of punishing real or supposed aggression by the seizure and confiscation of castles and territories, until his dominion was gradually extended over the whole, and his power was raised to an equality with that of the Mussulman princes his rivals*.

Formidable only to his enemies, Osman endeavoured to soothe into loyalty the subjects whom he had acquired by force, and to reconcile the conquered Christians to his government by the exercise of justice and of mercy; by leaving, in some instances, the ancient laws of the country without abrogation or change, or by the establishment and impartial admi-

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 100.

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nistration of new and salutary regulations. He neglected no means, which the wisest policy could dictate, of alluring the conquered people to return to their settlements. Among the captives, the women and the children were taken under his peculiar protection. Submission ensured safety to all, and conversion to Mahometanism led to dignity and affluence. Their name and nation were no longer dear to the Greeks. Many who had fled from the arms of Osman, returned under his protection to the enjoyment of safety and repose in their ancient dwellings, and many were even allured, by the virtues or the blandishments of the Mahometans, to renounce the faith, together with the allegiance, professed by their forefathers*.

The civil and military virtues of Osman were not the only causes of his success. The Turkish subjects of the neighbouring *emirs* flocked to the standard of a victorious prince, who distributed among his soldiers the fruits of his conquest, in whose success the favour of heaven was visible, and the continuance of whose prosperity was announced by the

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 128. Mignot, t. i, p. 96, 102 Gibbon, v. xi, p. 496.

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koran itself, which declares, that at the commencement of each century, a period which corresponded with the origin of the Ottoman monarchy, God will send to his people a chosen servant in order to renew their faith. This application of the prediction was further strengthened by a judicious interpretation of his name, the three first letters of which forming the word *asm* which signifies the breaking of bones, announced, according to the wisdom of the age, the hero Osman as one predestined to break in pieces the iron sceptre of the idolatrous princes, to crush the rivals of his power and the enemies of his house*.

Orkhan, in imitation of his father's practice and in obedience to the precepts of the Mahometan religion, made war only upon the Greeks. His avowed motive for extending his empire was not so much to acquire worldly greatness as to enlarge and support the fabric of heavenly worship†. He did

Orkhan. A. D. 1326—1360.

* See Tableau Général, t. i, p. 360.

† See in the Tableau Général, t. ii, p. 460, and in Cantemir's Ottoman history, p. 20, the discourse which Osman, on his death bed, addressed to his son Orkhan.

Tindal, the translator of Cantemir, says (p. 20, note 6), that Osman, by enjoining his son "to exercise a just friendship towards the Rumæan kingdoms," doubtless meant obliging the

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not, however, limit his ambition to victories over infidels. While he increased and cemented his power, the Seljukian *emirs* had, in many instances, weakened their states by dividing them among their children. The protection of the house of Osman was solicited in proportion as it grew formidable. Orkhan was invited to arbitrate between the heirs of the neighbouring provinces, whose dominions became the price of his interference, and gradually and imperceptibly dropped into his possession, by force or by fraud, by marriage or cession. The *emirs* resigned their independence, and sunk into vassalage by the acceptance of the standard and the robe of honour, which, while they assured to them the possession of their hereditary estates, not only bound them to the performance of military service to their liege lord, but confirmed the resignation of the distinctive prerogatives of royalty among Mussulmans, the mention of their name in

Christians of Europe to embrace Mahometanism, which, he adds, is, in the opinion of the Turks, the greatest kindness or friendship that can be shown to Christians. But it appears to me, on the contrary, that the injunction relates wholly to the line of conduct which Orkhan was counselled to hold towards the Seljukian *emirs*.

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the *khutbé* or public prayer, and the insertion of it on the current coin of the country*.

Murad the First. A. D. 1360—1389.

While the Ottoman empire was limited to Asia, its preponderance silenced jealousy, or crushed opposition, but when the son of Orkhan had effected his passage across the Hellespont, and the Ottoman armies were engaged in frequent and obstinate warfare on the opposite continent, the Asiatic princes united their arms for the purpose of recovering their independence. It was for this reason, that Brusa continued to be the seat of the Ottoman government even after the capture of Adrianople, and that Murad erected his European conquests into a *beylerbeylik*, or vice-royalty, as he deemed his own presence to be more necessary in Asia in order to restrain the rebellion of his subjects†. The princes

* "Le droit du *khoutbé* et celui de faire battre monnoie, ont de tout temps formé les seuls droits régaliens des potentats Mahométans, chez lesquels le titre le plus caractéristique de l'autorité suprême est encore aujourd'hui celui de *sahhib khoutbé ve sikké*, c'est à dire, possesseur des droits du *khoutbé* et de la monnoie." (Tab. Gén. t. ii, p. 207.) See also Knolles, v. i, p. 99, 141. Cantemir, p. 25, 178. Mignot, t. i, p. 103—106. Gibbon, v. x, p. 79. Jones, introduction à l'histoire de Nader Chah, in his works, v. v, p. 10.

† See Cantemir, p. 35. Knolles, v. i, p. 133, 136. Gib-

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of Caramania, whom the great extent and natural resources of their country rendered the most powerful among the Seljukian *emirs*, maintained a long and obstinate contest with the Ottomans for supremacy or independence*. By their influence over the minor princes of Asia, and by their coalitions with the Greek emperors and the Christian princes beyond the Hœmus and the Danube, they stirred up war alternately on either continent, and on that frontier of the empire from which the Ottoman army was furthest removed†. Their revolts greatly retarded the progress of the sultans in their fo-

bon (v. xi, p. 444) indeed relates from the Byzantine annals, that Murad the First established the seat of empire at Adrianople. D'Ohsson (Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 361) dates this event in the year 1365, and says, that Murad acted by order of a celestial spirit, who even pointed out the spot on which the imperial palace was to be built: but Lonicerus (hist. Turc. l i) attributes the first removal of the government into Europe to Bajazet the son of Murad: "regni Hadrianopolim sedes sibi legit ut esset."

* The ancient Isauria is part of Caramania. Its inaccessible mountains, a branch of the Taurus, were the seat of the descendants of the pirates who were subdued by Pompey. They were afterwards the asylum of a few mutineers, who revolted from the standard of the emperor Gallienus, and preserved themselves for two hundred and thirty years in savage independence in the midst of the Roman armies. (See Gibbon, v. i, p. 454; v. vii, p. 130.)

† See Cantemir, p. 48, 49, 88. Mignot, t. i, p. 206.

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reign conquests, and protracted the final overthrow of the Greek empire: indeed the true beginning of the Ottoman greatness dates from the victory of Murad over the Caramanians and their allies in the field of battle near Iconium, a plain which had been signalized by the prowess, and whose name still records the success, of the crusaders*.

The wars wherein both parties were orthodox Mussulmans, were, however, carried on with comparative mildness. Murad had ordered, that none of his soldiers, under pain of death, should use violence to the country people, or take any thing from them by force, in order that it might appear to the world, that he made war against Mahometans rather to repel injury and wrong, than from any lust of ambition or of avarice; and in further confirmation of the purity of his motives, he not only punished some Christian auxiliaries for transgressing his orders, but even permitted the conquered *emirs* to retain their territories. They were admitted to renew their tokens of homage and oaths of allegiance, and after

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 135, 136. The plains near Dorylæum, where the crusaders gained a decisive battle over Soliman, sultan of Rœum, in the year 1097, were afterwards called *firenk ovalare.*

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patiently submitting to remonstrance and admonition, they again received the investiture of their principalities*.

Murad having thus intimidated and pacified Asia, extended his conquests, not only over the whole province of Thrace to the verge of the capital, but even into Macedonia, Bulgaria, Bosnia, Servia, and Albania, when he was assassinated on the field of battle, after gaining the victory of Cossova over the confederated army of the Sclavonian tribes, headed by Lazarus, prince of Servia†. "The soul of this blessed

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 136.

† See Gibbon, v. x, chap. 65, for the emigration of the Sclavonian tribes from the countries between the Volga, the Don, and the Dnieper, and their conquest and occupation of the Roman provinces on the Adriatic sea, and the south of the Danube.

Laonicus Chalcondylas (de origine et rebus gestis Turcorum. Basil. 1556) thus describes the extent of the kingdom of Bulgaria, and the distribution of its provinces among the *supani* or feudatory lords. "Macedoniam, qua finitima est Axio flumini, (*rex*) commisit Zarco, viro apud ipsum dignitate primario. Eam regionis partem, quæ a Pherris tendit usque ad Axium flumen, Pogdano tribuit, viro bono et rei militaris peritissimo. Regionem, quæ a Pherris excurrit ad Istrum, Chrati et Unglesi fratribus concessit, quorum alter regius pocillator, alter regiorum equorum curator erat. Regionem Istro adjacentem nactus est, contribuente rege, Bulcus Eleazurus, Pranci filius. Trica et Castoria obvenere Nicolao Zupano. Ætolia decreta est Prialupi. Ochridem et regionem Prilisbæam dictam Placidæ, viro haud ignobili, regendam dedit. Commemoratos modo viros accep-

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sultan," says the historian Sad'ed-dinn Effendi, "decorated with the titles of conqueror and martyr, flew to the highest region of eternal bliss, marshalling under his triumphant banner the martyrs of that glorious day*."

Bajazet the First. A. D. 1389—1402.

The Mahometan princes of Asia had been subdued by force, but their minds were not yet moulded into slavish submission. Bajazet was diverted from the prosecution of his wars against the infidel nations of Europe by their intrigues and their insurrections, till at length, finding it impossible to reconcile them, he resolved to keep no longer any

mus Europæ regionibus præfectos esse a rege Stepano, qui, ubi exhalavit animam, singuli suas regiones, quas a vivo gubernandas acceperant, retinuere, fœderibusque inter se ictis, a se mutuo bello abstinuerunt. Græcis vero, ut cuique opportunum erat, admodum bellicis armis molesti erant. Michaelem Mysiorum ducem, qui imperavit locis Istro subjectis et regni sui sedem Trinabum constituit, Stepano antiquiorem extitisse audivi, præterea Bulgaros, quos Mysios vocamus, ibi sedes tenuisse accepi. Servios autem et Tryballos a se discretos tandem ad istum nomen emersisse. (l. i, p. 8, 9.)

The Sclavonian language (or the Illyric) is spoken, at this day, over a greater extent of country than any other living language; for, exclusively of many countries of Asia, it prevails in Dalmatia, Croatia, Epirus or Albania, Bosnia, Servia, Bulgaria, Russia, Poland, Bohemia, and Silesia. It has no affinity with the Turkish or Hungarian.

* See Tab. Gén. t. ii, p. 350.

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measures with treacherous allies or disaffected subjects. He openly renounced the peaceable maxims of his predecessors, and forcibly annexed to his empire the territories of the *emirs*, from the Mediterranean to the Euxine sea*. The princes themselves were sacrificed to his ambition or his safety. All, except those who had gained his confidence by their tried fidelity and their implicit obedience, were slain, imprisoned, or expelled from their cities and governments. By these usurpations, and by his conquests in Armenia and on the banks of the Euphrates, Bajazet had now reached the term of his greatness, the frontiers of the Mogul empire.

Timour, or Tamerlane, a Mussulman prince, renowned for his austerity and his justice, ruled over the eastern world, and held his imperial court in the city of Samarcand. The Asiatic *emirs*, oppressed by tyranny and misfortune, fled from the power of Bajazet by different routes and under various disguises;—they met together in the court of Tamerlane, recounted their grievances, and pre-

* See Cantemir, p. 47, 48, 49. Bajazet acquired the surname of *ilderim* or lightning from the frequency and quickness of his alternate marches from his European, to his Asiatic, frontiers.

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sented their petitions, at the foot of his throne. Tamerlane, though attentive to the progress of Bajazet, had felt no envy at his prosperity, but had witnessed with approbation his active and successful warfare against their common enemy, the Christians. He was unwilling to interrupt the holy occupations of Bajazet, who was at that time engaged in besieging Constantinople, and he affected to disbelieve, that a prince so zealous in the cause of religion, and so observant of justice, could exercise violence and oppression towards his friends and faithful associates. His jealousy was, however, awakened by the intelligence, that Bajazet, after subjecting the whole of Asia Minor, was meditating the conquest of Syria and Egypt, and had even made preparations for carrying on war against the sultan of Cairo: his resentment was also aroused by the protection and promise of support which Bajazet had given to Ahmed Djelaïr, *khan* of Bagdad and Irak, whom Tamerlane had despoiled of his sovereignty; and his irresolution was fixed by the appearance of a comet, which, from its situation in the west of the heavens, was pronounced by his astrologers to portend misfortune to the arms and the dominion of

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the Ottoman monarch*. The ambassadors whom Tamerlane sent to the court of Brusa, were instructed, not only to claim from Bajazet the surrender of the rebel prince of Bagdad, but also to offer him the robe of vassalage, and to command, as the first proof of his obedience, that he should respectfully acquiesce in his sovereign's decision on the cause of the Seljukian *emirs*†. Bajazet indignantly rejected the humiliating present, and having vented his resentment in studied expressions of reproach and insult, he dismissed the ambassadors, and prepared to vindicate in the field his independence and his conquests‡. In the meantime, Tamerlane,

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 145. Cantemir, p. 59. Tab. Géa. t. i, p. 363, 364. Gibbon, v. xii, p. 16, 17.

† See the Institutes of Timour, p. 147. 4to. London 1783. Chalcondylas, l. ii, p. 33. Knolles (p. 145) has knowledge of the robe sent by Tamerlane, but supposes it to be an act of kindness, instead of an assertion of superiority and a claim of homage. Cantemir, p. 54, (adopting the wilful ignorance of the Ottoman historians on a subject dishonourable to their nation, see p. 59, note 4; p. 100, note 11) despatches the whole of Tamerlane's expedition in three lines.

‡ "Porro quod ad vestem attinet, regi vestro nunciate, ne posthac et genere opibusque præstantiori hujusmodi munera mittere in animum inducat."—"Hæc ut relata sunt ad regem Temirum Semarchandam, ira graviter accensum ferunt vestitus contumelia." Chalcondylas, l. ii, p. 33.

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confident in his superiority and deliberate in his vengeance, judicially pronounced, that the Turkish princes had been unjustly dispossessed*. He then marched against Sivas, or Sebaste, demolished the fortifications, razed the city to the ground, trampled the citizens under the hoofs of his cavalry, and again sent a summons to the sultan, exhorting him to return to the duties of religion and the practice of virtue, and to restore the princes to their rights. He admonished him to testify his submission by substituting the name of Tamerlane for his own, on the coinage and in the public prayers, throughout all his dominions, and finally he ordered him to contribute, for the immediate service of the invading army, a large supply of provisions and military stores†. Bajazet refused and resisted, but resistance was in vain. His defeat in the plains of Angora may be attributed to the more numerous forces, and the superior skill, of Tamerlane, and to the defection of his own troops, many of whom, being collected from the conquered provinces

* See Chalcondylas, l. ii, p. 33.

† See Chalcondylas, l. ii, p. 34. Knolles, v. i, p. 149. Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 366. Gibbon, v. xii, p. 19.

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of Anatolia, fled in the beginning of the battle to the standards of their lawful princes, and left the weight of the conflict to the inflexible, but unavailing, courage of the janizaries and native Ottomans*. Tamerlane planted his victorious standard at Kutahia, and dispersed his troops, without further resistance, over the greatest part of the Ottoman empire in Asia. The captivity and the iron-cage of Bajazet are too well known, as the subjects of history or romance, to need further mention or refutation†. He accepted from the hands of a master the robe of honour and the investiture of his rightful inheritance, but his haughty spirit sunk under the humiliation of dependence‡. The Ottoman empire again assumed its ancient name of Roum, and was numbered among the

* For the account of the battle of Angora, see Knolles, v. i, p. 151. Gibbon, v. xii, p. 26. Cantemir (p. 54, note 22) asserts, that the battle was fought near the city of Brusa in Bithynia; and the abbé Lechevalier (voyage de la Propontide et du Pont-Euxin, t. i, chap. v, p. 30. Paris 1800) arrogates to himself the merit of having decided this *historical problem*, from the discovery of some human bones and rusty weapons in a field near Brusa.

† See an able discussion of this question by Gibbon, v. xii, p. 30—36.

‡ See Mignot, t. i, p. 152. Gibbon, v. xii, p. 31.

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twenty-seven kingdoms which acknowledged the sovereignty of the mighty Tamerlane*.

The sons of Bajazet, and the Seljukian *emirs* were re-instated in their hereditary dominions, and confessed, by the homage of the coin and prayer, their own dependence, and the clemency of their common lord. Soliman, the eldest of Bajazet's sons, had escaped from the field of battle into Europe: he was enabled, by the interposition of the sea, and the refusal of the Greek emperor to facilitate the passage of it to the Tartars, to preserve the Ottoman name from the ignominy of total submission†. Mussah was

Interregnum. A. D. 1402—1413.

* See the institutes of Timour, p. 163. It would appear by the following passage, that Gibbon did not rightly apprehend the system of Tamerlane's government. "His most destructive wars were rather inroads than conquests. He invaded Turkestan, Kipzak, Russia, Hindostan, Syria, Anatolia, Armenia, and Georgia, without a hope, or a desire, of preserving those distant provinces. From thence he departed laden with spoil, but he left behind him neither troops to awe the contumacious, nor magistrates to protect the obedient, natives. When he had broken the fabric of their ancient government, he abandoned them to the evils which his invasion had aggravated, or caused, nor were these evils compensated by any present or possible benefits." Cantemir so entirely misconceives the policy of Tamerlane that he bursts out in rapturous admiration of "the unparalleled generosity of the barbarian." (See Ottom. hist. p. 53, and p. 59, note 5.)

† Cantemir (p. 59) relates, that, on the arrival of Tamerlane's ambassadors at Adrianople, Soliman refused to receive from them

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appointed by Tamerlane to the government of Anatolia, and Issa to that of Angora, Sinope, and the neighbouring countries on the Euxine sea. Mahomet had been entrusted by his father with the government of Amasia, which formed the Turkish frontier against the Christians of Trebizond and Georgia, and which, though it appears to have escaped the notice, or at least not to have excited the resentment, of Tamerlane, required the continual exertion of prudence and valour to defend it from the ravages of the Tartars*.

the investiture of his government, and drove them from his presence with contempt and insult; and that Tamerlane, in order to punish his refractoriness, conferred the government on Mussah. Gibbon, however, who, "in order to acquire a just idea of these events, has compared the narratives and prejudices of the Moguls, Turks, Greeks, and Arabians," says, that Soliman, the son of Bajazet, soothed the pride of the conqueror with tributary gifts, and accepted, by a red patent, the investiture of the kingdom of Romania, which he already held by the sword. (Rom. hist. v. xii, p. 37.)

* See Cantemir, p. 59—61. He, however, omits the mention of Issa, whose name, together with those of several other Ottoman princes, the sons of Bajazet, he supposes to have been introduced by the *ignorance* of Phranza and other Christian writers. (p. 59, note 6.) Gibbon (v. xii, p. 48, note 78) appeals to the testimony of Arabshah (tom. ii, c. 26) and Sherefedden (l. v, c. 57) for the existence of Issa, who is also noticed by Leunclavius (hist. Musul. Turc. l. viii, p. 371), by Knolles, v. i, p. 159, and by D'Herbelot, bibl. orient. voc. *Baiazid*, p. 175.

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The Ottomans, though they omit the name of Tamerlane in the catalogue of their monarchs, consider this period of their history as an interregnum. None of these princes, on account of the division and the dependent nature of their power, are classed among the Ottoman sultans, nor honoured with the title of *padishah*. They are merely distinguished by the appellation of *chelebi*. The death of Tamerlane, the division of his empire among his sons, their discord, and the ambition of his great captains, relieved the Turkish provinces from the Tartar yoke. Eleven years, however, elapsed in the mutual endeavours of the sons of Bajazet to supplant each other, before Mahomet effected his final triumph, and assumed the title of sultan*.

* Gibbon (v. xi, p. 449) shows from the history of Ben Schounah, a contemporary Syrian, that Bajazet first received the title of sultan from the caliphs of Egypt. D'Ohsson (tab. gén. t. i, p. 239) mentions Bajazet's embassy to the caliph Mohammed XI, for the purpose of obtaining his benediction and the grant of the countries which he had inherited or conquered. Cantemir (p. 14) asserts, that Osman assumed, and impressed on his coin, the title of sultan: the title of *emir-ul-umera* (imperator imperatorum) was, however, that which was conferred upon him by the last of the Seljukian sultans (tab. gén. t. i, p. 255), with which he appears to have remained satisfied. (See Knolles, v. i, p. 99.) Mignot (t. i, p. 100) says, that Orkhan first took the title of sultan, as being more suitable to the extent of country

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The permanence of the Ottoman government during this long suspension of its regular exercise, is, perhaps, the most remarkable circumstance in the history of the nation. The empire had been dismembered by the policy of the conqueror. The union between the several governments was not only dissolved, but they were put in declared opposition, in order to counterbalance each other's power, and to prevent defection or revolt. The prevalence of a prejudice among the Turks which connects the prosperity of the empire with the Ottoman government, preserved the attachment of the subjects to the blood and family of its founder, and prevented competition among the neighbouring princes for the dominion of its hereditary possessions, and its acknowledged and legitimate conquests. The vital principle of the Ottoman government was, however, more especially preserved in the European provinces of the empire by the institution of the military order of janizaries, which had been formed, in the reign preceding that of Baja-

which he governed than that of *emir*, with which, however, it is in some respect synonimous, as indicating only the temporal power.

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zet, by a levy of every fifth captive taken in the Thracian or Sclavonian wars:—an improvement of the military system first introduced and established by Orkhan*.

This permanent body of infantry served as a rallying point to the dispersed Ottomans, and kept up the spirit and discipline of their armies†. To the overawing influence of this establishment are also to be attributed the supineness of the Byzantine emperors, and the inattention of the governments of Christendom to a juncture apparently so favourable to the extermination of the Turkish power in Europe, and to the reduction of it in Asia. No combined attack was made upon the European Turks, although, in their insulated situation, it could hardly have failed of success. No means were even used to intercept the communication of Europe with Asia, which a fleet,

* See Cantemir, p. 25. Tab. Gén. t. iv, p. 116. Voltaire, essai sur les mœurs, chap. lxxxvii.

† Cantemir says (p. 62, note 11), and the remark evinces that deficiency of criticism which characterises the oriental historians, that "it is matter of astonishment to the Turks, that Soliman, who was immersed in every vice, was so successful in his affairs; whilst Mussah, endowed with so many virtues, was very unfortunate in war, so that, either out of pusillanimity or caution, he never durst come to a pitched battle."

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stationed at the Hellespont, could so easily have effected. The Greeks, on the contrary, assisted the passage of Mahomet into Europe, and irrecoverably lost, on his accession to the throne of Bajazet, the opportunities which they had neglected during a long and stormy interval*.

Mahomet the First. A. D. 1413—1421.

Mahomet the First restored the integrity and the peace of the Ottoman empire. A few days before his death he summoned Murad, who was governor of Amasia, to come and take possession of his inheritance, and concluded his letter by a distich of his own composition in the Persian language. "Night has overtaken me, but a bright day will succeed: my rose is faded, but it will be replaced by a flower of more delicious fragrance†."

Murad the Second. A. D. 1421—1451.

Mustafa, the eldest of the sons of Bajazet, had fallen in the battle against Tamerlane; but an impostor (for such the Ottoman historians have determined him to be), from a strong resemblance of shape and feature, assumed the name and character of the heir of the empire. The princes of Wallachia were the first to encourage and promote his pretensions, but their army was routed by

* See Cantemir, p. 77, note 19. Gibbon, v. xii, p. 51, 54.

† See Tab. Gén. t. ii, p. 481.

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Mahomet, and their country was at once exposed to ravage and subjected to tribute. The life of the impostor was preserved by the timid policy of the Greek emperors, who no longer dared to oppose the Ottomans in the field, but endeavoured to weaken their strength by intestine broils*. Murad the Second, in the very commencement of his reign, was reduced to the greatest difficulties by the victorious progress of Mustafa. The artifices of the impostor could be counteracted only by the artifices of superstition; and the final success of the sultan was owing more to the predictions of a Mahometan saint, than to the superior courage of his troops, or the stronger attachment of the Ottomans to his government†. The Christian princes of Europe and the Asiatic *emirs* were implicated, equally with the Greek emperor, in the guilt of this treachery; and justice, no less than policy, dictated to the victorious sultan the necessity of completing Bajazet's system, by depriving the *emirs* of their governments, and by re-

* See Phranza, l. i, c. 39, 40. Cantemir, p. 74. Gibbon, v. xii, p. 47, 48, 51, 55.

† See Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 369. Cantemir, p. 80.

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ducing under his sceptre Servia, Macedonia, Thessaly, Albania, and the whole of Greece to the north of the isthmus of Corinth*. By these conquests the frontiers of the Ottoman empire were extended to the borders of Hungary, the entrance into whose plains was defended only by the fortress of Belgrade, and the valour and military resources of the celebrated Hunniades. The resistance and the inroads of the Hungarians compelled the sultan to conclude a truce of ten years, by which the Danube was declared to be the common boundary of the two countries†. Murad, having thus restored peace to the empire, resigned the government to his son Mahomet, who was then only in his fifteenth year, but he soon after resumed it in order to punish the treachery of the king of Hungary, who, in contempt of the solemn engagement into which he had recently en-

* See Cantemir, p. 82—87. Caramania was not, however, entirely subdued until the reign of Mahomet the Second (Cantemir, preface, p. x, and Ottom. hist. p. 110), or that of his son Bajazet the Second. (Knolles, v. i, p. 304.) Chalcondylas, in describing the state of the Turkish empire under Mahomet the Second, seems to confirm the assertion of Cantemir. "Asiam autem distribuit in semæas (i. e. *sanjacs*) sive signa." (l. viii, p. 137.)

† See Mignot, t. i, p. 206.

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tered, suddenly renewed the war, and invaded the Turkish territories, instigated by, or confederated with, the Caramanian *emir*, who, though frequently chastised, continually renewed his attempts to shake off the Ottoman yoke*. The Byzantine emperors had entered into the league with the Hungarians, and the Hellespont was occupied by the gallies of the Franks. But Murad either purchased the connivance of the Catholic admiral, or forced the passage of the Bosphorus, and advanced by rapid marches to oppose the invaders†. The event of the battle of Varna, in which Ladislaus lost his army and his life, was considered by the Turks as the visible interposition of heaven, and foreboded to the Christians the annihilation of the liberty and independence of Europe‡.

* See Cantemir, p. 88, note 87.

† See Gibbon, v. xii, p. 161, 190. Cantemir (p. 89) says, that Murad passed through Gallipoli into Europe.

‡ "Ten thousand Christians were slain in the disastrous battle of Varna: the loss of the Turks, more considerable in numbers, bore a smaller proportion to their total strength (60,000 men, see p. 161); yet the philosophic sultan was not ashamed to confess, that *his ruin* must be the consequence of a second and similar victory." (Gibbon, v. xii, p. 163.) A strange diffidence in the resources of his empire.

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European writers have assigned, or conjectured, various motives for this monarch's abdication of the government. It has been called philosophy, bigotry, and indolence*: but Murad, who was literally frightened to death by a *dervish*, who met him on the road near Adrianople as he was returning from hunting, and announced to him, that the angel of death was already at his door, can have but little claim to the character of a philosopher†. Gibbon erroneously supposes him to have retired into a monastery, and to have joined in the religious dances of the *dervishes*, in order to expiate the sins of his government‡: but bigotry, in a Mussulman prince, can point out the performance of no ceremonies so efficacious to such

* See Voltaire, essai sur les mœurs, c. lxxxix, p. 283, 284. Gibbon, v. xii, p. 152, 153, note 15. Mignot, t. i, p. 214, 217.

† See Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 371.

‡ Gibbon quotes the authority of Chalcondylas (l. vii, p. 286), whose assertion is disproved by the silence of the Ottoman historians (see Cantemir, p. 88, 91, 92, note 43), and by his own imperfect knowledge of the religion and customs of the Turks. The *ziehidæ* of Chalcondylas (unless, as I believe, it be the word *sheïk* written according to the modern Greek pronunciation) are not recognizable in any of the thirty-two societies of *dervishes* enumerated by D'Ohsson. (See Tab. Gén. t. iv, p. 622—626.)

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an end as perseverance in the path of victory over infidels; and Murad's resumption of the sovereignty, merely to rescue the state from foreign war and domestic faction, acquits him of not attending to his duties, or of resigning himself to the allurements of debauchery and idleness.

Mahomet the Second. A. D. 1455—1481.

The admirable situation of Constantinople, the walls and suburbs of which, under Constantine Palæologus, comprised the whole of the Roman world, and the history of its last memorable siege, are familiar to every reader. The events of this siege have been related both by the victors and the vanquished, and consequently with all the disagreement to which their opposite feelings on the occasion must have given rise. It is, however, probable, though the Turkish soldiers were unsparing in their search after private property, which, by the sultan's proclamation, was consigned to them as their lawful prize, and were unrestrained in the gratification of their appetites, that, as they experienced no further resistance after their entrance into Constantinople, the capture of the city was attended with less bloodshed than any other which is recorded in the Ottoman history*.

* See Gibbon, v. xii, p. 231, 236.
It is confirmed by the unanimous testimony of the Greek and

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The final subversion of the Byzantine empire, the subjugation of the principalities in the Morea, and the resignation of the sovereignty of Trebizond by David Comnenes into the hands of Mahomet the Second, immediately followed the conquest of the imperial city*.

Mahomet the Second acquired the surname of *fatih*, or the vanquisher, from the number and the importance of his conquests. He subdued, according to the account of the national historians, two empires, twelve kingdoms or principalities, and two hundred fortified cities†. He united under his sceptre all the provinces in Europe which had formerly belonged to the eastern division of the Roman empire, and the whole of Asia on this side mount Taurus. He expelled the Genoese colony from Kaffa in the Crimea,

Turkish writers, that Mahomet, in order to attack the city on the side of the harbour, transported a flotilla overland from the Bosphorus. This bold and extraordinary plan was executed in a single night, though the intervening space of ground is hilly. The distance is, however, erroneously stated to be about ten miles; for it is even less than two miles from *Beshiktash* on the Bosphorus to *Cassim Pasha* on the harbour. (See Cantemir, p. 98, note 8. Gibbon, p. 220, note 48.)

* See Gibbon, v. xii, p. 246—251.

† See Cantemir, p. 107, note 24.

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and confirmed the *khan* of the Tartars in the dominion over the hordes which were diffused throughout that peninsula, and the deserts on the north of the Euxine sea from the Dniester to the Cuban. The *khan* submitted, however, to receive from the sultan the investiture of his dominions, and bound himself to military service in defence of the rights, or the pretensions, of his sovereign*. After the death of Mahomet his generals were recalled from the conquest of Italy, which they had already successfully commenced by the sack of the city of Otranto.

Bajazet the Second rather consolidated than enlarged the dominion which he had inherited from his ancestors. He wrested, however, some important cities on the sea coasts of Albania and the Morea from the Venetians, who ratified the possession by treaty for the preservation of some commercial advantages, which, in the opinion of the historian Mignot, constituted not merely an equivalent for the loss of honour and terri-

Bajazet the Second. A. D. 1481—1512.

* Cantemir, though he acknowledges, that the *khutbé* was said throughout the Crimea in the name of the Ottoman emperor (see p. 113), yet inconsistently asserts, that the *khan* is permitted to coin money with his own name inscribed on it. (See p. 11, note 9.)

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tory, but even exhibited the triumph of weakness and industry over physical and military strength*. He restrained the piracies of the Moldavians on the Black Sea, by the capture of the strong fortresses of Kilia on the Danube, and Akkierman on the Dniester†. He annexed to the Ottoman empire the cities of Tarsus and Adana, and the district which lies between Caramania and Syria, which, till then, had maintained its neutrality and its independence‡.

The beginning of the reign of Bajazet had been disturbed by the pretensions of his brother Djem, who founded his title to the succession on the circumstance of his having been born the son of a sultan, whereas the birth of Bajazet had preceded the elevation of his father to the imperial dignity. Djem, who held the government of Magnesia, raised a powerful army, but was defeated by the

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 312—315. Cantemir, p. 133. Mignot, t. i, p. 348—351. It was indeed a series of such triumphs which led the effeminate and virgin city to the ludicrous consummation of her Gallic nuptials in the eighteenth century.

† See Knolles, v. i, p. 303. Cantemir, p. 125.

‡ See Knolles, v. i, p. 304. Cantemir, p. 125—129. It appears, however, from Cantemir's history (p. 114, sec. xxxi, and note 47), that the father of Bajazet had already taken this district.

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grand vizir Ahmed. He then fled to the sultan of Egypt, who offered his mediation with Bajazet, but did not encourage nor assist his pretensions. He next excited the Caramanians to rebel, but the war terminated in their subjection to the power of the sultan. He finally escaped by sea to the island of Rhodes, and took refuge among the knights of Saint John of Jerusalem.

This military and religious order was instituted about the middle of the eleventh century for the purpose of succouring pilgrims, and of protecting them in their dangerous journey through Palestine. When Jerusalem was abandoned, the knights took up their residence in the island of Cyprus, where the house of Lusignan continued to reign; but the obligation of their oath, the restlessness of the military spirit, and the love of glory, prompted them to acquire by arms an independent establishment. They obtained possession of the island of Rhodes after an obstinate contest with the inhabitants, who, aided by the Saracens, had shaken off the yoke of the Byzantine emperors;—here their navy continued to harass the commerce, and ravage the coasts, of the Turkish empire. Their power had become so

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formidable as to excite the attention, and repulse the attack, of Mahomet the Second*.

The grand master of the order received and protected the fugitive rival of the sultan, and firmly resisted both the solicitations and the menaces of Bajazet, but consented at length to remove him to a greater distance from the Ottoman territories, in consideration of an advantageous treaty which was offered him by the porte. Djem embarked for Italy, and resided at Rome in safe but honourable custody, until the French king Charles the Eighth, having seized upon the kingdom of Naples, and extended his schemes of conquest to Greece and European Turkey, claimed possession of his person, and removed him to Naples, where he was soon after murdered by an emissary of the sultan†.

Bajazet, from a wish to secure the succession to his son Ahmed, unadvisedly de-

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 113. Mignot, t. i, p. 261—267, 291—308, 310—325.

† See Cantemir, p. 119—123. Such is the relation of the Turkish historians. Mignot, on the authority of the Christian writers, attributes his death to Alexander the Sixth, who was bribed to perpetrate this atrocious action by a sum of three hundred thousand ducats sent him by Bajazet.

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clared his intention of resigning the government. He was himself suspected by the janizaries of disaffection to their order: they compelled him therefore to execute his purposed resignation; but they conferred the sovereignty on Selim, his youngest son, who had already given proof of his enterprising turbulence by taking up arms against his father and sovereign*.

Selim the First, surnamed *Yavuz* or the Cruel, having defeated and strangled his brothers, who were competitors for the throne, saw himself the undisputed master of an extensive empire, mighty in itself, and defended on every side by rivers, mountains, and deserts. The Julian Alps, the Save, and the Danube, formed the Turkish frontier on the side of the Venetian and Hungarian territories. The lofty range of mount Taurus, a natural boundary between the Ottoman empire and the kingdoms of Persia and Syria, was possessed, from the borders of Amasia to the extremities of Caramania, by the princes of Lesser Armenia, and by the wandering tribes of the Kurds and Turc-

Selim the First. A. D. 1512—1519.

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 302. Cantemir, p. 136—138. Mignot, t. i, p. 331, 332, 367, 368.

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mans.* The kingdom of Shah Ismael, founder of the family of Sefi, consisted at that time of Persia, Media, Mesopotamia, and the Greater Armenia†; and the Borgite dynasty of the Mamelukes reigned over Egypt and Syria, from Cyrene to the banks of the Euphrates‡. The Mahometan faith was diffused over these powerful Asiatic monarchies; but its purity was corrupted in the kingdom of Persia by the introduction of new doctrines, which had been promulgated by a recluse whom the Turkish historians contemptuously style the slave of Satan, and embraced with equal zeal by the sovereign and his subjects §. Their heresy excited the devout resentment of the Ottoman sultan, and urged him to punish, and to avenge, the injuries which his father and grandfather had received from the Persian king by his encroachments on the Ottoman territories, and the protection which he had recently afforded to the bro-

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 344, 345, 353. Mignot, t. i, p. 383, 391. Volney, voyage en Syrie et en Egypte, t. i, p. 359—365. 3me edit. Paris, an vii.

† See Knolles, v. i, p. 319, 352. Mignot, t. i, p. 383.

‡ See Knolles, v. i, p. 306, 359.

§ See Knolles, v. i, p. 316, 350. Cantemir, p. 136, 139, 145. Mignot, t. i, p. 354—363. Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 123.

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thers of Selim*. He forced a passage over the mountains, encountered the perils of the desert, and having obtained a signal and decisive victory over the Persians in the plain of Chalderan, marched against the city of Tauris, which immediately opened its gates to the conqueror†.

The sultan led back his victorious army to Amasia, loaded with booty, but diminished in numbers, and depressed by suffering and disease. The Kurds and the inhabitants of the mountains harassed them in their retreat, attacked them with advantage in the defiles, while they eluded pursuit in their inaccessible retreats‡. Selim, whose ambition projected the entire conquest of Persia, no longer dared to leave in his rear such faithless allies, or such dangerous enemies. He gratified at once his resentment and his policy by subjugating Armenia, Mesopotamia, and the territories of the Kurds and Turcmans,

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 321—324, 341, 343, 344, 346, 350. Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 125, 133.

† See Knolles, v. i, p. 343, 344, 345, 348. Mignot, t. i, p. 383. Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 134.

‡ See Knolles, v. i, p. 346, 349. Cantemir, p. 151. Mignot, t. i, p. 390.

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from the lake of Van to the confines of Syria*.

The Mahometan, as well as the Christian, potentates felt a just and natural alarm at the continued success, or approximation of a neighbour at once so turbulent and so enterprising. Selim put a stop to their progress by the rapidity of his movements, or awed them by the magnitude of his preparations. He marched from mount Taurus to the Danube, and by his menacing aspect dissipated the intended confederacy of the Emperor and the kings of Hungary and Poland against the Ottoman power†. He stationed a strong army on the borders of Persia, and found employment for the arms of Ismael by exciting the Hyrcanians and the Tartars of the plains which lie between the Don and the Volga, to attack the Iberian and Albanian nations which were under the protection of Persia‡. He then led a numerous army to Aleppo, with the real, but dissembled, intention of subverting the whole Persian monarchy, which, notwithstanding, he feared

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 354, 404. Cantemir, p. 152—155. Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 378.

† See Knolles, v. i, p. 354, 355, 357.

‡ See Knolles, v. i, p. 352, 378.

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to attack, till he had secured the fidelity, or had disabled the enmity, of the Egyptians*.

Egypt, the civilization of which had begun at such an early period that even before the time of Abraham its government had degenerated into absolute monarchy, has patiently endured, during two thousand three hundred years, the successive dominion of strangers. It flourished in opulence and splendour under kings of the Persian and Macedonian dynasties, and from the era of its submission to the arms of the Cæsars, was considered the most valuable and important province of the Roman empire, until Amrou, lieutenant of the caliph Omar, A. D. 638 conquered it from the Byzantine emperors. The government of the Saracens succeeded to that of the caliphs, and the last king of the race of Ayub, which was the name of the father of Saladin†, was dethroned and mur- A. D. 1250. dered, soon after the defeat and capture of Saint Lewis at the battle of Mansura, by the Turcman Mamelukes, his body-guards, the

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 357. Mignot, t. i, p. 333—335.

† Saladin was by birth a Kurd, his army was composed principally of cavalry, called in the Arab language *serrâdjin*, whence the crusaders formed the national appellation of *Saracen*.

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most valiant, but the most disorderly, soldiers in Asia. A Turcman occupied the vacant throne, and the Mamelukes thenceforward arrogated to themselves the privilege of electing and cashiering the sovereign of Egypt. Their history, for two hundred and fifty-seven years, is a series of crimes and disorders. The Turcman, were supplanted by the Circassian, Mamelukes. Thirty-three military despots succeeded to each other, and few among them except the first, who occupied his troops in the conquest of Syria, either enjoyed a long reign or experienced a natural death*.

* See in Volney (t. i, p. 244, note) a synopsis of an Arabian manuscript in the national library, No. 786, containing the history of the governors of Egypt from the caliph Omar to the Turkish *pasha*, the representative of the Ottoman sultan, in the year 1620.

Amrou, in a letter to the caliph, thus describes the country of Egypt. "Prince of the faithful! paint to thyself a beautiful champaign country situated between deserts, and two ranges of mountains, one of which appears a sand-hill, and the other resembles the back of a camel or the belly of a starved horse. Such is Egypt. All its riches and productions, from Syene to Mensha, are owing to a blessed river which flows with majesty through the midst of it. The periods of its rise and fall are as regular as the courses of the sun and moon. At a certain season of the year all the sources in the universe pay to this king of rivers the annual tribute to which Providence has subjected them. Then its waters swell till they overflow their bed, and cover the

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The seeds of war, which Selim had matured by his conquest of Tauris, and his victories over the princes of the mountains, had been sown in the preceding reign by

land of Egypt, depositing on its surface a prolific slime. Commerce between the villages is carried on at that time only by means of light boats, which are as numerous as the leaves of the palm-tree.

" When the moment arrives that its waters are no longer necessary for fertilizing the soil, the docile river re-enters the bounds which Nature has prescribed to it, in order that the treasure may be collected, which it has laid up in the bosom of the earth.

" A people protected by heaven, and which, like the bee, seems destined to labour for others without profiting by the fruits of its toil, lightly opens the ground, and depositing the seeds, awaits their fecundation from the bounty of that Being who causes them to germinate, to grow, and to ripen. The seed develops itself, the stalk rises, and the ear is formed, by the aid of an abundant dew, which supplies the want of rain, and keeps up the nourishing moisture with which the soil is imbued. A rich crop is immediately succeeded by sterility. Thus, O prince of the faithful, Egypt offers by turns the image of a powdery desert, a liquid and silvery plain, a black and slimy marsh, a green and waving meadow, a garden blooming with flowers, or a field covered with yellow harvests. Blessed be the creator of so many wonders.

" Three things, O prince of the faithful, essentially contribute to the prosperity of Egypt, and the happiness of its inhabitants. The first, not lightly to adopt projects engendered by fiscal avidity for increasing the taxes: the second, to employ a third of the revenue in keeping up the canals, the bridges, and the dikes: the third, to levy taxes only in kind, on the fruits which the earth produces."

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Bajazet's seizure of the intermediate country, and by Caïtbey's protection of Djem. Both nations, although they had engaged in actual warfare in behalf of their dependents or their allies, were, however, restrained from open or avowed hostilities by mutual respect for the number, the strength, and the prowess, of their enemies. The Ottoman sultans were superior in the physical robustness of their infantry, in their steady valour and rigorous discipline; while the Mameluke cavalry, which has preserved its reputation through all the successive improvements in the art of war, constituted the main support of the Egyptian armies. The Mamelukes of that age were chiefly of the Circassian race: they greatly excelled the Turks in military exercises, in the skilful management of their horses and arms, and in the precision and celerity of their manœuvres: their courage was moreover fortified by the remembrance of the advantages which they had recently obtained over the armies of Bajazet, in their skirmishes on the frontiers of Caramania and in the mountainous district which separated the two monarchies*.

* For the constitution and discipline of the Mamelukes see Knolles, v. i, p. 355, 356. Volney, v. i, p. 142—158.

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Cansou Ghawry, the sultan of Egypt, advanced with equal forces to meet the army of Selim, and, according to Cantemir, offered his concurrence in the pious attempt to extirpate the heresy of the Persians*. Other historians assert, with greater probability, that he was in league with the Persians, and had led out his army in their defence†. Selim, however, preferred his submission to his alliance, and profiting by the secret, but inveterate, enmity of the governors of Damascus and Aleppo, he encouraged their desertion from the standard of Egypt. The power of the Mamelukes was dissolved by the decisive battle of Meritz Dabik, in which the Egyptian sultan was slain with the flower of his army. The submission of Syria and Palestine, the defeat of the new king of Egypt, Touman Baïh, with the conquest of that country, immediately followed. Mecca sent her keys to the conqueror in token of submission, and her *scherif* received the orders of Selim which regulated the succession to the principality. Even the Arabs of the

* See Cantemir, p. 156, 157. Volney, t. i, p. 85.

† See Knolles, v. i, p. 354, 357. Mignot, t. i, p. 403. Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 134.

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desert did homage to the sovereignty of the sultan*.

Selim confirmed, with certain modifications, the form of administration which already prevailed in Egypt. He chose from among the Mamelukes who had survived the shock of his arms and the ebullition of his resentment, twenty-four *beys*, or chiefs, to whom he again confided the government of the Egyptian provinces, the collection of the tribute, and the regulation of the police; but he subjected their authority to that of the *divan*, or council of regency, which was composed of the *pasha*† and the military

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 359, 360, 361, 362, 375. Cantemir, p. 158, 167—169. Volney (t. i, p. 370) thus describes the Arabian deserts. "Pour se peindre ces déserts, que l'on se figure sous un ciel presque toujours ardent et sans nuages, des plaines immenses et à perte de vue, sans maisons, sans arbres, sans ruisseaux, sans montagnes: quelquefois les yeux s'égarent sur un horizon ras et uni comme la mer. En d'autres endroits le terrein se courbe en ondulations, ou se hérisse de rocs et de rocailles. Presque toujours également nue, la terre n'offre que des plantes ligneuses clair-semées, et des buissons épars, dont la solitude n'est que rarement troublée par des gazelles, des lievres, des sauterelles et des rats. Tel est presque tout le pays qui s'étend depuis Alep jusqu'à la mer d'Arabie, et depuis l'Egypte jusqu'au golfe Persique, dans un espace de six cents lieues de longueur sur trois cents de large."

† The Turkish word *pasha* is formed of two Persian words *pa-shah* which signify literally *vice-roy*.

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chiefs, and was supported by a standing army of twenty thousand infantry and twelve thousand cavalry*. Syria and Palestine were divided into *pashaliks*, and became more immediately incorporated with the Ottoman empire by the similarity of their government†.

The sultan returned to his capital, leading with him the last caliph of the house of Abbas, by whose resignation he obtained for the princes of the Ottoman dynasty the title of caliph, so important in the eyes of Islamism as conferring the powers of sovereign pontiff, administrator of justice, and doctor of legislation. The rights of the caliphat had indeed been exercised by his ancestors from the foundation of the Ottoman monarchy, but under titles which indicated only temporal power, such as *bey*, *emir*, and *sultan*‡. He died while projecting new conquests.

As a conqueror, Selim in his conduct, his

* See Volney, t. i, p. 92—94, 98, 99, 140, 141, 142. The government established by Selim subsisted till the year 1746, when Ibrahim Kiahya effected a revolution which transferred to the Mamelukes the reality of power, and reduced the authority of the Ottoman porte and the *pasha* to a nullity and a pageant.

† See Volney, t. ii, p. 99.

‡ See Mignot, t. i, p. 419.

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activity, and enterprise, merited the highest praise; but the concurring voice of posterity condemns his inhumanity to his family, to his friends, and even to his enemies*. The mind of Selim was, however, adorned or vitiated by the literature, and the philosophy, of his age and country; while his character was marked by the most revolting incongruities. The same man, whose vengeance reared, on the banks of the Nile, a pyramid of human skulls, constructed and embellished the pavillion of the nilometre. The inscription in Arabic verse was of the sultan's own composition. "All the riches and the possessions of men belong to God, who alone disposes of them according to his will. He overturns the throne of the conqueror, and scatters the treasures of the lords of the Nile. If man could claim as his own the smallest particle of matter, the sovereignty of the

* Cantemir relates (p. 163), that on Selim's march towards Cairo, one of his vizirs, encouraged by the familiar conversation in which he was engaged with his officers, jocularly asked, when they were to enter a certain village in the neighbourhood of that city. "We shall indeed enter," said the sultan, "when God pleases, but for thee, it is my pleasure, that thou stay here," and thereupon ordered the vizir's head to be instantly struck off.

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world would be divided between God and his creature*."

Soliman ascended the throne of his father under the most favourable auspices. He was born in the *nine-hundredth* year of the hegira, and was himself the *tenth* sultan of the Ottoman race;—this combination of perfect numbers was considered by his subjects to presage the splendour of his reign and the prosperity of his empire. His father, the victim of superstition, had acknowledged on his death-bed, that a holy man of Damascus, who enforced his belief by foretelling his victory, had also predicted, that, though his own reign should not exceed nine years, that of Soliman should extend through half a century. "If heaven in its mercy," exclaimed the merciless sultan, "would grant me so long a reign, it should equal that of Solomon." The same prediction which had certainly shortened the life of his father, incited Soliman to engage, with the assurance of success, in those enterprises which have illustrated his reign, and have rendered it the most brilliant in the annals of the Ottoman monarchy†.

Soliman the First. A. D. 1519—1566.

* Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 382.

† See Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 387.

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The conquests of Selim had secured the empire in Asia from the apprehension of external attack, and left to Soliman the choice of extending its boundaries either to the east or the west. The Hungarians waited his determination with anxiety, but without using the precautions which their own situation and the affairs of Europe seemed to require. Belgrade, which had successfully repelled the attacks of Mahomet the Great and his father Murad, and was considered not only the bulwark of Hungary, but the chief barrier of the Christian commonwealth, was, nevertheless, left with a garrison insufficient for its defence, and ill-supplied with provisions and military stores. Soliman began his attack on Hungary by the siege of this important fortress, which he captured in less than a month, and thus opened a passage into the heart of Christendom and laid the seat of future war beyond the ancient bounds of the Ottoman empire*. But he deferred

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 382, 405. Cantemir, p. 176. Mignot, t. i, p. 430. Mr. Coxe, however, who has had the advantage of consulting the histories of national and contemporary writers, says (History of the house of Austria, v. i, p. 549. 4to, London 1807), that "the garrison was well provided with every means of defence," and that, "after a siege not distin-

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his schemes of continental aggression until he had obtained a second triumph over the memory of his great ancestor, by compelling the knights of Saint John to surrender the island of Rhodes; a sovereignty possessing every advantage of climate, of soil, and situation, which they had held in the midst of the Turkish empire for two hundred and twenty years, and which they at last relinquished by honourable capitulation after a furious and protracted siege*.

Though Rhodes, while in the hands of the knights, was acknowledged to be the only defence of Italy against the fleets and armies of the Turks, it had received no assistance from the Christian princes in its last great struggle. Venice was in league with the porte. Italy, Germany, France, and Spain, were distracted by civil dissensions, by religious disputes, by mutual distrust, and by implacable hostility†. The general politics

guished by any remarkable event, the place was surrendered by treachery to the infidels."

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 382—404. Cantemir, p. 176. Mignot, t. i, p. 430—469.

† See Knolles, v. i, p. 388, 391, 394, 402, 404. Robertson, history of the reign of the emperor Charles V, v. ii, p. 201. 8vo. London 1802.

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of Europe, and the incomplete union of its states in any plan of defence against the common enemy, precluded the expectation, and even the possibility, of effectual co-operation among them. In this posture of affairs, the councils of Soliman were decided by the peculiar inaptitude of Hungary for resisting, unsupported, the shock of the Turkish arms. That kingdom, now left open to his incursions, was governed by a prince whose youth, whose inexperience, and incapacity, prevented him from exerting any authority over the nobility and clergy, who engrossed all the wealth and power of the kingdom*. Soliman stationed an army of sixty thousand men under the command of the *beylerbey* of Anatolia for preserving the tranquillity of Asia: he sent a strong fleet of observation into the Archipelago: he appointed a large convoy of transports to proceed up the Euxine and the Danube for the supply of his army; and he himself advanced towards Hungary at the head of two hundred thousand men†.

In the meantime Lewis, embarrassed by

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 404, 405, 422. Robertson, v. ii, p. 378. Coxe, v. i, p. 548.

† See Knolles, v. i, p. 405. Mignot, t. i, p. 428.

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the tedious forms of the feudal constitution, assembled the states of his kingdom, whose previous sanction was necessary to enable him to summon the Hungarian nobility to take up arms in defence of their invaded country. He endeavoured to animate and to unite the resistance of the whole community by the revival of an ancient custom—the carrying about of a bloody sabre, as a signal of the danger which threatened the lives of the inhabitants and the independence of the state*.

The military force of Hungary consisted almost wholly of cavalry, composed of the nobles or possessors of fiefs, their vassals, and servants. Infantry, whose superiority in war was again beginning to be felt in the west of Europe†, not being provided by the feudal institutions, could be supported only by taxes, which the king could not levy, as the great paid no imposts, and the people had neither industry nor commerce. Every proprietor of land was obliged, in consequence of his military tenure, to march with a proportionate number of vassals under the

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 405. Coxe, v. i, p. 549.

† See Robertson, v. i, p. 112, 137.

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standard of the officer of his district. These forces, which were not consolidated by any identity of discipline and skill, could make but a feeble resistance against a regular army, even if they had been united under one command. But though every consideration of prudence and of patriotism evinced the imperious necessity of repressing faction and of adhering to the sovereign, the nobility still continued to make their own privileges the primary object of their concern. The king could command the attendance of the nobles only in extraordinary circumstances, and under peculiar conditions. He could summon all the armed force of the country to his camp when the state was acknowledged to be in danger; but the service of the feudal vassals was for a limited time, and they could not be compelled to carry on war far beyond their own frontier. They were privileged to serve only about the person, and under the immediate command, of the king, and not in flying camps, nor detached bodies; and on this ground they refused to occupy passes which might arrest the progress of the Turks, preferring the conservation of an injurious distinction to the interest of the commonwealth. The soldiery

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were impatient of the restraints and the privations of a camp: they were prepared for sudden and hazardous enterprises, but not for strenuous constancy even in the defence of their country. Their *country* to the great body of the inhabitants was indeed a term void of animation: considered as the property of the nobles, they were exposed to the rigours of aristocratical oppression, and were noticed by the law no further than as they were prohibited from pleading against their masters.

In the ordinary affairs of government, the prerogative and authority of the king were circumscribed and impeded by the powers and privileges of the diet and the nobility. In military affairs, his commands were obeyed only as far as they were agreeable. The nobles and their vassals, boiling with intemperate courage, would consent to be led to action only when and how they chose. Their impatience compelled the king to quit an advantageous position, and to descend into the plain to the attack of an army eight times greater than his own*. The officer who carried the standard of Hungary before

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 405. Mignot, t. i, p. 479, 480.

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the king, had his spurs taken off in compliance with an ancient custom*; nor did the behaviour of the troops belie this demonstration of desperate courage, but Lewis was killed, and his army was destroyed, by the event of the battle of Mohatz, in which upA. D. 1526. wards of twenty thousand Hungarians fell. The capital, the chief fortresses, and the open country, surrendered to the mercy of conquerors inflamed with zeal, with avarice, and revenge. Soliman led back his army, loaded with booty and encumbered with captives, and left the impoverished and depopulated country deprived of regular government, torn by domestic factions and the contentions of foreign princes for the vacant throne†.

The male race of the royal family of Jagellon became extinct by the death of Lewis. John de Zapoli, count of Zips and *vaivoda* of Transilvania‡, being at the head of a re-

* See Mignot, t. i, p. 481.

† See Knolles, v. i, p. 406. Cantemir, p. 180, 181. Mignot, t. i, p. 482, 483. Robertson, v. ii, p. 378. Coxe, v. i, p. 550.

‡ "Transilvania was annexed to the kingdom of Hungary by king Stephen in 1002, and governed by vice-roys appointed by the king, under the name of *vaivoda*." Coxe, v. i, p. 559, note.

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spectable body of troops, convoked an assembly of the states at Tokay, and by his influence with the nobility, who were averse from the dominion of foreigners, obtained for himself the election to the throne of Hungary. He was, however, opposed by a strong party headed by the great palatine, Stephen Battori, who caused Ferdinand archduke of Austria, brother of the emperor Charles the Fifth, to be elected by a diet assembled at Presburg. Ferdinand, who by the cession of his brother united under his sway and in his own person all the German dominions, and all the pretensions, of his house, founded his claim to the succession of Bohemia and Hungary on ancient treaties in favour of his family, and on his own marriage with the princess Anne, the only sister of Lewis the Second: but as the feudal institutions existed in their full vigour in these kingdoms, he cautiously avoided the assertion of his rights, and obtained both crowns according to the usual mode of election. The causes which contributed to the elevation of Ferdinand, were, on the one part, the calamities of the kingdom and the necessity of providing additional means of security, and on the other, the

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envy which was naturally excited among the Hungarian nobility by the preferment of the *vaivoda*. In these circumstances, the personal merit and great resources of the brother of the emperor, aided by the intrigues of his partisans and of his sister Mary, the widow of Lewis, prevailed over national prejudices, and secured a considerable majority of the nobles in favour of the foreign candidate.

John found himself unable to maintain by arms the ascendancy which he had acquired. He abandoned his capital, and flying from province to province before the armies of Ferdinand, took refuge at last in Poland with his brother-in-law Sigismund. Thence he despatched an able emissary to Constantinople, who succeeded in interesting the sultan in his behalf, by offering to hold the kingdom as a fief of the Ottoman empire which it had gained by the law of arms*. Soliman indeed needed no intreaties to make the crown of Hungary really dependent on the porte by this seeming act of magnanimity and generosity. It was a natural policy rather to surround his empire with weak and

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 407—409.

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tributary states than with powerful and independent kingdoms*. He refused to acknowledge the election of Ferdinand, contemptuously dismissed his ambassadors, who had not only endeavoured to assert and to justify his claim and title, but had presumed to demand the restitution of the Hungarian fortresses which the Turks still held, and encouraged the partisans of John by a solemn promise to restore him to the throne†. The Ottoman army marched to Buda without meeting resistance. The German garrison A. D. 1529. capitulated, but was put to the sword on pretence of some infringement of the articles of the treaty‡. Soliman captured with the same facility the principal fortresses along

* Knolles (v. i, p. 409) wholly mistakes both the Ottoman policy and the character of Soliman: he asserts, that "the sultan was not so desirous of kingdoms as of glory and renown, being naturally carried away with that windy vanity."

† See Knolles, v. i, p. 410. Mignot, t. i, p. 495. Mr. Coxe (v. i, p. 553) has given a more particular account of Soliman's answer to the ambassadors, from the historical works of John Zermegh, a native of Sclavonia and a contemporary writer. (Hist. rer. gestarum inter Ferdinandum et Johannem. Schwandtner, scriptores rer. Hungar. t. ii, p. 394.) The speech of the sultan is, however, so inconsistent with the established style and ceremonial of the Ottoman court that it seems scarcely deserving of credit.

‡ See Cantemir, p. 185.

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the Danube: he advanced into Austria, and laid siege to Vienna, but his operations were frustrated by the loss of his heavy artillery, which had been intercepted on its passage up the Danube and sunk by the garrison of Presburg. He was finally compelled by the approach of the rainy season, and the scientific and vigorous resistance of the governor and garrison, to draw off his army and to leave the work unfinished, though, to assuage his disappointment or to expedite his retreat, he issued a general order for the murder of all the prisoners before raising the siege*.

The sultan, piqued at the dishonour done to the Ottoman arms by the resistance of the Austrians, still cherished the ambitious project of subduing, not only the hereditary dominions of Ferdinand, but the whole of
A. D. 1532. Germany†. The army which he again assembled and led through Hungary, was computed to consist of five hundred thousand

* See Knolles, v. 1, p. 411—414. Cantemir, p. 190—198. Mignot, t. i, p. 496—500.

† See Cantemir, p. 175. "Viennam quidem alio nomine quam *dedecus et ignominiam suam* designare non solet." (Busbequii epist. p. 264. 12mo. Oxon. 1660.)

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men*, but its effects were shamefully disproportioned to its magnitude. It was occupied for twenty-eight days in the fruitless siege of Guntz, an insignificant and badly fortified town in Styria, was deterred from approaching Vienna, the avowed object of the expedition, by the forces which Charles had conducted from Italy, Spain, and the Low Countries and augmented by the contributions from the states of Germany, and was finally disbanded, after wasting the open country of Styria and Carinthia, and carrying many thousands of the country people into captivity†.

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 417. Robertson (v. iii, p. 58) says 300,000 men.

† See Knolles, v. i, p. 416—420. Coxe, v. i, p. 556—558. Mr. Coxe is of opinion, that, in the first irruption of 1529, "nothing perhaps could have prevented the subjugation of Hungary, had not Soliman been compelled to withdraw and direct his arms against the *Caramanian* princes, who on a report of his death had risen in rebellion" (see v. i, p. 551): and that, in the campaign of 1532, "the retreat of the sultan was hastened by a diversion of the imperial fleet under Andrew Doria, who alarmed the coasts of the Archipelago, captured Corona, *one of the fortresses commanding the Dardanelles*, and threatened Constantinople itself." (See p. 558.) I have not extracted these passages from a work of acknowledged merit for the invidious purpose of pointing out their obvious inaccuracy, but for the sake of removing a difficulty which repeatedly occurs to the readers of Turkish history, by an attempt to explain the cause

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The retreat of Soliman gave to Ferdinand another opportunity of reclaiming the domi-

of the frequent retreats of the Turkish armies from conquered countries, and their renewal of the same series of operations in successive campaigns. Such conduct is inexplicable except by the information which is derived from an acquaintance with the feudal, and particularly with the Ottoman, policy. The feudal system, which is admirably adapted for retaining conquests in a country which has been previously and totally subjugated, is, however, so far repugnant to the spirit of extending dominion that it necessitates the settlement of an army of feudal proprietors in the conquered country, sufficient to hold in subjection the ancient and dispossessed inhabitants; and consequently so complete a conquest as to enable the victors to make a new distribution of the whole of the landed property. Now the Turkish army consisted principally of persons possessed of military fiefs at home, whose term of service in each campaign was limited, and who were desirous, at its expiration, to return to their domestic occupations. To these the sultan could offer no inducement to remain in garrison in a country only partially subdued. His regular soldiers were not sufficiently numerous for the purpose, and his revenues were inadequate to the maintenance of a large body of the volunteers, even if they would consent to be retained, and the defence of the country could be safely entrusted to them. Hence then the enemy's country, though entirely over-run in the course of the campaign, was constantly evacuated on the approach of winter, until by the repeated incursions of the Turkish armies it became so completely ravaged, and the courage and resources of the inhabitants so exhausted, as to have prepared it by degrees for an incorporation with the empire. It is obvious, that the subjugation of a country so warlike and so populous as Hungary was incomplete, even after one or two successful campaigns, so that no garrison of regulars or mercenaries which the sultan could leave behind, would have been sufficient to maintain their ground, and therefore it was, that Soliman repeatedly withdrew the whole of his army, and not on account of the depredations of

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nion of Hungary, but he was prevented from availing himself of it by the immediate return of the greater part of the foreign and auxiliary troops, and by the departure of Charles for Italy and Spain, in spite of the intreaties of his brother to leave his army at his disposal, or to employ it in his cause*.

Hungary was ravaged by all the evils consequent upon a contest for the sovereignty. The rival kings, unable to support their pretensions without the assistance of the emperor and the sultan, persisted, however, in carrying on a desultory warfare in the frontier provinces of each other's territories. The German army penetrated into Sclavonia, notwithstanding a league of amity into which Ferdinand had entered with Soliman, and attempted to surprise the Turkish garrison at Esseg on the river Drave, but was repulsed with loss and disgrace by the troops of the *pasha* of Belgrade†. The interference of the

free-booters in Turcomania and Kurdistan (see Cantemir, p. 181, note 19), nor the successes of the Italians in the Morea. (See Cantemir, p. 195.)

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 420—422. Coxe, v. i, p. 559.

† See Knolles, v. i, p. 455—462. Cantemir, p. 195. The Turkish annals celebrate the victories of this campaign, and the subsequent submission of the princes of Sclavonia, with the surrender of upwards of twenty cities and towns.

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Turks in the affairs of Hungary exposed the wretched inhabitants to all the calamities of a hostile invasion. "In vain had nature blessed this kingdom with mines of gold, and with the real treasures of corn and wine; in vain had she favoured the inhabitants with strength of constitution and quickness of understanding; the country now appeared as a vast desert, which exhibited only towns in a state of ruin, fields which the husbandmen tilled with the sword in one hand, villages dug under ground where the inhabitants concealed themselves with their corn and cattle, and a hundred fortified castles the possessors of which disputed their independency with the Turks and Germans*." John, however unwilling to renounce the royal dignity, wept over the success of his cause and the distresses of his country: he endeavoured to terminate, or to diminish them by secretly covenanting with Ferdinand, that he should retain the title of king of Hungary with the territory actually in his possession, but that, on his demise, if he left no heirs, and he was then unmarried, the dominion of the whole should devolve to Ferdinand†. This treaty

* Voltaire, essai sur les mœurs, chap. cxix.

† See Knolles, v. i, p. 468. Mignot, t. i, p. 506. Robertson, v. iii, p. 216. Coxe, v. i, p. 569.

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procured only a temporary relief; for the king, though advanced in, years, afterwards married Isabella, daughter of Sigismund king of Poland, and though he survived his marriage only a short time, he left an infant son, who was acknowledged by the greater part of the Hungarian nobility, and was crowned under the revered name of Stephen, the founder of the monarchy. The regency, A. D. 1540. during his minority, was entrusted to his mother and guardians*. Ferdinand laid claim to the kingdom in virtue of his compact with John, who, however, appears to have considered it as annulled by the birth of his son, an event against which no stipulation had been made; but trusting as much to negociation as to force, he offered to Soliman to hold it as a fief of the porte, and to pay the same tribute as his predecessor, while, at the same time, he sent an army to demand the surrender, or to undertake the siege, of the capital of Hungary. The queen, who possessed ambition and spirit to support the rights of her family, rejected the claim of Ferdinand, and appealed to Soliman, the lord paramount, for protection

† See Knolles, v. i, p. 469, 470.

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and support. Soliman imprisoned the German ambassadors, who had presumed to approach him with words of peace, while their master was carrying on war in the kingdom of his vassal and ally: he encouraged the citizens of Buda to hold out, until, by the assistance of the troops whom he detached from his grand army, the Germans were compelled to raise the siege by night, and to retreat with great slaughter*.

Soliman arrived before Buda in the autumn. Affairs now seemed ripe for the consummation of those ambitious projects which he had meditated from his first invasion of Hungary. His conquest was insecure while the government of the kingdom was vested in the house of Zapoli, which had always shown itself impatient of tributary subjection, and was now become peculiarly incapable, on account of the sex and youth of Isabella and Stephen, of overawing faction, or defending it from the Austrians. The sultan continued to reside in his camp, as he was prohibited by the customs of his nation from lodging within a walled town which did

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 470—478. Cantemir, p. 204. Mignot, t. ii, p. 6—10. Robertson, t. iii, p. 216—219. Coxe, v. i, p. 560, 561, 562.

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not acknowledge his jurisdiction, and restrained by decency and the etiquette of the Ottoman court from visiting, or receiving in his pavillion, a lady who was the daughter of his ally and the widow of his vassal. He therefore invited the queen to send her infant son to the imperial camp, to receive in person the assurances of his powerful protection. The vigilant anxieties of a mother foreboded the consequences of the visit, but the imperial basilisk fascinated her into compliance. A magnificent entertainment was prepared for the nobles who escorted their sovereign, and they were detained in the camp; whilst the janizaries, silently and without resistance, seized upon the principal gates of Buda, and disarmed the guards. The child was kept as a hostage until the regency had summoned all the military commanders of the fortresses and provinces to submit to the Ottomans, and the queen was directed to retire with her son into Transilvania, which, by way of compensation, he was to hold as a fief. Soliman entered the capital of Hungary in triumph, and converting its principal churches into mosques, consecrated the success of a stratagem which, as is justly observed by a dignified historian, "suited the A. D. 1541.

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base and insidious policy of a petty usurper, rather than the magnanimity of a mighty conqueror*." He ordained, that Buda should thenceforward be kept by a Turkish garrison, and that the kingdom of Hungary itself should constitute a *beylerbeylik* of the Ottoman empire†.

The seizure of the kingdom of Hungary, however repugnant to every principle of honour or morality, was sanctioned by the policy and practice of the Ottoman cabinet. I am not disposed to exculpate this act of treachery; but it should be recollected, in justice to the character of Soliman, that Hungary was acknowledged to be his own: his right to it had been acquired by his arms, and confirmed by the actual homage of John and the proffered submission of Ferdinand. If, according to the feudal maxims, the detection of treachery on the part of the vassal, or an evident incapacity to discharge the functions of royalty, justified the resumption of the government into the hands of the lord paramount, the conduct of John and the

* Robertson, v. iv, p. 45.

† See Knolles, v. i, p. 478—482. Cantemir, p. 184, note 24, p. 205. Mignot, t. ii, p. 10—13. Robertson, v. iii, p. 219

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state of affairs under his successors furnished Soliman with such a plea. It would indeed have been more consistent with the imperial dignity to have openly asserted this prerogative, and Soliman could have harboured no doubt, in the situation of the country at that time, of the ultimate success of whatever measures he might employ in order to effect his purpose. It is possible, that motives of humanity concurred with those of policy in dictating a deviation from the laws of honour. The garrison might have protracted its resistance, until the season should arrive when the authority of the sultan over the greatest part of his troops would cease, and his influence be insufficient to prevail upon them to remain in the field: on the other hand, if Buda should be taken by assault or be compelled to surrender after standing a siege, the sultan himself could scarcely restrain his exasperated soldiery from plundering and demolishing the city, and murdering the citizens.

The Hungarian nation was not attached to the reigning family by the remembrance of a long line of illustrious ancestors, or of any actual services which they had rendered to the state. The people were naturally

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averse from bringing inevitable desolation upon the country in the hopeless defence of an infant king, who could not, even by a successful resistance to the Turks, remove the impending danger of a foreign, and not less odious, dominion. The greatest part of Hungary thus became incorporated with the Ottoman empire: the people were consoled by the enjoyment of repose, and the nobles were reconciled to the loss of national independence by the preservation of their religion, their privileges, and their possessions*.

The transactions at Buda excited the fearful apprehensions of Ferdinand for the safety of that division of Hungary which acknowledged his sovereignty, and even of his hereditary dominions. He endeavoured to conciliate the favour of Soliman, and to arrest the further progress of his arms, by sending a splendid embassy to the Turkish camp, and renewing his fruitless solicitations for the grant of the kingdom on the humiliating conditions of homage and tribute. He was even ultimately compelled by the perilous

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 479. "Absoluta Turcarum imperia nondum sensit; eorum tamen sub patrocinio degit, ac veluti potentiorum amica, mandatis eorumdem obsequitur." Montalbanus, in Turc. imp. statu ap. Elzevir. p. 93.

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situation of his affairs, to consent to pay a yearly tribute of thirty thousand ducats, in order to obtain a truce of five years, and to preserve his footing in Hungary*.

The possession of this kingdom continued to be the object of desire and anxiety both to the German and Turkish monarchs. While Soliman, relying on the observance of the truce, was carrying on war in Persia, Ferdinand obtained from Isabella, by force and by artifice, the cession of Transilvania, which he afterwards lost through the hatred occasioned by the infamous and impolitic assassination of the vice-roy, Cardinal Martinuzzi, who had obtained it for him from the queen, and had defended it against the Turks†. The Turks, on the other hand, captured and fortified Temeswar, Quinque Ecclesiæ, Alba, and Gran‡. On the death of Ferdinand, A. D. 1563

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 481, 482. Robertson, v. iii, p. 220. Coxe, v. i, p. 562.

† See Knolles, v. i, p. 551. Mignot, t. ii, p. 32. Robertson, v. iv, p. 47—49, 128. Coxe, v. i, p. 563—565.

‡ See Knolles, v. i, p. 501, 511. Cantemir, p. 206. "It is difficult to distinguish the different districts occupied by the Christians and Turks; but it is probable, that the House of Austria possessed the north, as far as Neuhausel, and the course of the Danube down to Comorn, with a portion of the frontier bordering on Croatia, as far as Szigeth. The Turks, the whole course of the Danube from Belgrade to Gran, and the country

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and the accession of Maximilian to the imperial dignity, Hungary became again the theatre of war. Soliman was now advanced in years; he nevertheless prepared an expedition to complete the conquest of the country, but he died during the siege of Szigeth, which was however taken under his auspices, before his death was proclaimed, or known to the army*.

The conquest of the kingdom of Hungary, though the most important event in the history of Soliman, did not exclusively occupy the attention of that ambitious and high-minded monarch. He himself conducted his army into Persia, prosecuted the war through several destructive and disastrous campaigns, obtained by his perseverance and by his victories an augmentation of territory beyond the Araxes and the Tigris, and forced the princes of Georgia, who were tributaries of the Persian monarchy, to surrender their strongest castles and to acknowledge the sovereignty of the porte†.

from the Raab to the Theis. The House of Zapoli, the part beyond the Theis, and Transilvania." Coxe, v. i, p. 563, note.

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 554, 555, 557. Cantemir, p. 215.

† See Knolles, v. i, p. 435—439, 508. Cantemir, p. 196

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The victorious progress of the Ottoman sultans in Egypt and Persia, produced an unexpected collision of interests with the states of the European continent bordering upon the Atlantic ocean. The Portugueze, following up the discoveries of Vasco di Gama by schemes of territorial aggrandizement and commercial monopoly, had projected the establishment of a mighty empire over the vast extent of Hindostan, had prohibited the navigation of foreign vessels in the Indian ocean, and seized upon the island of Ormus in the Persian gulf and Aden on the Red sea. The greater facilities which the passage by the cape of Good Hope afforded to the western countries of Europe, had diverted the trade of India into the port of Lisbon, and had deprived Egypt of an important branch of revenue, arising from the duties on the productions of India, which were formerly imported by the Arabian gulf,

—199, 207—211. Mignot, t. i, p. 510—516; t. ii, p. 31.

Bagdad was surrendered to the sultan in 1534, after two campaigns, in which the Turks are said to have lost 200,000 men on account of the peculiar hardships of Persian warfare; the insalubrity of the climate, and the scarcity of water, provisions, and forage. Van was besieged and taken in 1548, and Erivan, the seat of the Persian king, was sacked and destroyed in 1553.

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and, after being carried over land from Suez to Cairo and thence by the Nile to Alexandria, were dispersed throughout the markets of Europe by the Venetian merchants. The Mameluke government felt the injury, and determined to resent it. It was assisted in fitting out a fleet at Suez by the industry and ingenuity of the Venetians, who foresaw, in the success of the Portugueze, the ruin of their commerce and the downfal of their power. Albuquerque, the vice-roy of the king of Portugal, counteracted their projects by taking possession of the island of Socotora near the straits of Babelmandel, and appointing a Portugueze squadron to cruize off the entrance of the gulf and intercept the expeditions from Egypt. Impelled by a mistaken patriotism, he conceived the monstrous idea of engaging the emperor of Ethiopia to turn the course of the river Nile, and to open for it a new passage into the Red sea:—a scheme which, if it had been practicable, would have reduced the fertile and populous kingdom of Egypt to a barren solitude*. The same

* See Jobi Ludolfi historia Æthiopica, l. i, c. 8. fol. Francofurti ad Mœnum 1681. Alf. d'Albuquerque in comment. ejusd. part. 4, c. 7, allegante Tellezio p. 20. Raynal, histoire philoso-

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policy induced the successors of Albuquerque to assist the Persians in their wars against the Ottomans, by furnishing them with arms and ammunition, and instructing them in the use of artillery and musketry. Soliman, on the other hand, by an exertion of singular industry, equipped a strong fleet at Suez, which was built from timber cut in the mountains of Caramania, and carried on the backs of camels across the desert, after being transported to Egypt and floated up the Nile. The Ottoman admiral appears to have co-operated with the king of Cambay in the siege of Diu, on the coast of Guzerat, but was repulsed by Juan de Castro, and constrained to cover the ill success of his expedition by treacherously seizing upon Aden and other cities on the Arabian gulf, and thus subjecting a great part of Yemen to the dominion of the sultan*.

By his personal prowess and his incessant activity Soliman had extended his empire in

phique et politique des établissemens et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes, t. i, l. i. 8vo. Geneve 1783.

* See Lazarus Soranzus, de milit. cop. Turc. in Turc. imp. statu ap. Elzevir. p. 257. 12mo. Lugduni Batav. 1634. Knolles, v. i, p. 451. Cantemir, p. 201. Mignot, t. ii, p. 4. Raynal, t. i, p. 176—178.

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Hungary and Persia, but he owed the submission of Moldavia solely to the terror of his name*, and the homage of Algiers to the renown of his power†.

Two brothers, Aroudg and Khairuddinn, natives of the island of Mitylene, who, under the name of Barbarossa, had become formidable to the Christian states by their successful and systematic piracies in the Mediterranean sea, were invited by Selim ebn Toumi to assist him in expelling the Spanish garrison from a small fort, built by the governors of Oran on a rocky island, which commanded the entrance of the harbour of Algiers, and overawed the city‡. The pirates were prompted by this avowal of his weakness to murder the king, and to usurp the dominion of Algiers. Khairuddinn succeeded to the throne on the death of his brother Aroudg, and in order to confirm his

* See Cantemir, p. 186—189. Mignot, t. i, p. 501.

† See Cantemir, p. 196. Robertson, v. iii, p. 94.

‡ In the year 1509 the cities of Bujeya, Oran, Tripoli, and other maritime places on the Barbary coast were conquered for Ferdinand, king of Spain, by his admiral Don Pedro Navarro. —Oran was taken from the Spaniards by the Algerines in 1708. —Tripoli, together with the island of Malta, was given by Charles the Fifth to the knights of St. John, who held it till the year 1551 when it was taken by the Turks.

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dominion and to accomplish his project of extending it over the whole coast of Barbary, he offered to hold his kingdom as a fief of the Ottoman porte. Soliman accepted his homage, and sent to his assistance a powerful naval and military force in token of his favour and protection*. Khairuddinn was afterwards induced to resign the government of Algiers, on being raised to the dignity of *capudan pasha* and the chief command of the Ottoman fleet, but he generously stipulated, that the vice-royalty of Algiers should be conferred on his comrade Hassan, to whose co-operation he had been

* See Regni Algerii descript. compend. e var. author. collect. in Turc. imp. statu apud Elzevir. p. 310. Diego de Haedo, topographia e historia d'Argel. p. 47—61. fol. Vallad. 1612. Luys del Marmol, description general de Africa, t. ii, p. 215, 216. fol. Granada 1573. Knolles, v. i, p. 428, 429. Mignot, t. i, p. 518, 519. Robertson, v. iii, p. 91—94. Laugier de Tassy (histoire du royaume d'Alger, preface, and p. 11—28. 8vo. Amsterdam 1725) has composed, or, as he asserts, has translated from the Arabic of Cidi Ahmed ben Haraam, the history of the amours of Aroudg and the beautiful Zaphira, widow of the unfortunate Selim, for the love of whom he perpetrated the murder of her husband. Knolles also relates (v. i, p. 432) an idle story of Khairuddinn storming the city of Fondi in the kingdom of Naples in order to obtain possession of Julia Gonzaga, the paragon of Italy. Ambition and avarice, and not love, were, however, the passions which agitated the souls, and influenced the conduct, of these aspiring corsairs.

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greatly indebted for his success, and who afterwards evinced his worthiness by his repulse of the emperor Charles the Fifth*. The courage, conduct, and experience of Barbarossa in maritime affairs, were deèmed necessary at this important crisis in order to oppose the united navies of Spain and Italy which were commanded by the Genoese admiral Doria, and to retaliate on the defenceless shores of Italy the ravages committed on the coasts of Greece and Epirus. Barbarossa supported the reputation of the Ottoman arms, and of his own valour and skill, in several well-contested naval combats. He retook Castelnuovo in Dalmatia, notwithstanding the desperate defence of the garrison, which consisted of four thousand Spanish veterans, who all perished with their captain Sarmiento. He reduced Napoli di Romania and Malvasia, cities in the Peloponnesus, and by the conquest of these important places, and of several islands in the Archipelago, so terrified the Venetians, who had been induced to join the maritime confederacy against the Turks, that they purchased a separate peace by the resignation of

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 488. Cantemir, p. 196. Robertson, v. iii, p. 94.

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Syra, Patmos, Paros, Egina, Naxos and other islands*. He suddenly invaded Tunis under pretence of re-establishing Raschid who had been expelled by his younger brother Muley Hassan, and partly by force of arms, and partly by treachery, subjected the whole kingdom to the dominion of the porte. The king, who was abhorred by his subjects on account of his cruelty and his vexations, fled on the approach of the Turks without attempting resistance. The depredations of Barbarossa against the Christian states were now increased in proportion to his greater means of annoying them. The emperor, apprehensive that he would extend his inroads into Spain, Italy, and Sicily, and urged by the complaints of his subjects, and the solicitations of the dispossessed prince, who offered to become his vassal as the price of his restoration, formed a powerful coalition of the Christian states, and placed himself at the head of the expedition for the purposes of restoring security to Christendom, and of re-establishing the legitimate sovereign on the throne of Tunis. The complete success of

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 422—426, 429, 431, 453, 454, 455, 465. Cantemir, p. 196. Mignot, t. ii, p. 2. Robertson, v. iii, p. 94.

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an enterprise to which he was excited by such generous motives, raised the fame of Charles to an unrivalled superiority among the kings of Europe. His victory was, however, stained by the atrocities of his soldiers. Muley Hassan was re-instated in his capital streaming with the blood of his hereditary subjects. But his government was detested, and his person despised, from his baseness in submitting to become the vassal of a stranger and an infidel. However necessary such conditions might be for the tranquillity of Christendom, they were so humiliating to the regal dignity, so insulting to the prejudices, and so injurious to the interests, of the people, that, during the reign of Muley Hassan, they fomented insurrections among his subjects, encouraged the usurpations of his children, and finally occasioned the extinction of his family, and the reduction of his kingdom to a province of the Ottoman empire*.

* See Regni Tunetani compend. descript. ex I. B. Grammaye, in Turc. imp. statu ap. Elzevir. p. 341—343. Knolles, v. i, p. 432—435, 440—451, 503—506. Mignot, t. i, p. 521—532. Robertson, v. iii, p. 94—107.

" Alger, Tunis, Tripoli, reçurent la même législation. C'est une espèce d'aristocratie. Le chef qui, sous le nom de *dey*, conduit la république, est choisi par la milice, qui est toujours

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Soliman the Magnificent held a distinguished rank among the contemporary princes of the sixteenth century. He established the discipline of his armies not less by his example than by his authority, and headed them in their victorious career from the extremities of Persia to the centre of Germany. His navy was equal in number and in strength to those of the Spaniards and Italians, and his admiral Barbarossa acquired no less reputation than his opponent, the celebrated Doria. His name was great and his power was acknowledged over an extensive territory and among tributary nations. His political and military administration, while it excited the envy of his rivals, commanded the approbation of the most intelligent observers; and the Ottoman constitution appears to have attained, during his reign, the greatest perfection of which it is susceptible. Learning and the arts were encouraged by his patronage and munificence, and his enlightened policy opened or invited a commerce with the remotest nations of the west.

The magnitude and the splendour of the

Turque, et qui compose seule la noblesse du pays." Raynal, t. vi, p. 16.

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military achievements of Soliman are surpassed in the judgment of his people by the wisdom of his legislation. He has acquired the surname of *Canuni*, or instituter of rules, not, as has been erroneously asserted, on account of his having promulgated a civil and criminal code*, which, in Mahometan communities, is unalterably fixed by the founder of their religion, but on account of the order and police which he established in his empire. He caused a compilation to be made of all the maxims and regulations of his predecessors on subjects of political and military economy. He strictly defined the duties, the powers, and the privileges, of all governors, commanders, and public functionaries. He regulated the levies, the services, the equipment, and the pay, of the military and maritime forces of the empire. He prescribed the mode of collecting, and of applying, the public revenue. He assigned to every officer his rank at court, in the city, and in the army; and the observance of his regulations was imposed on his successors by the sanction of his authority. The work which his ancestors had begun,

* See Mignot, t. i, p. 470.

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and which his care had completed, seemed to himself and his contemporaries the compendium of human wisdom. Soliman contemplated it with the fondness of a parent, and conceiving it not to be susceptible of further improvement, he endeavoured to secure its perpetual duration*. But human institutions require, from their very nature, a progressive amelioration.—The Western nations of Europe, from an intimate connexion with whom the Turks were removed by the mutual accusation of infidelity and barbarism, had hitherto indeed acquired no actual superiority over the Turks†; but they were

* See Cantemir, p. 174, note 1. Toderini, t. i, p. 34. The *canon nameh*, or code of Sultan Soliman, as far as relates to the finances and military orders, is translated by Count Marsigli in his military state of the Ottoman empire.

† This assertion is warranted by the concurring testimony of writers of the sixteenth century. Busbequius, who had studied the Ottoman institutions with peculiar diligence, wrote a treatise (Exclamatio: sive de re militari contra Turcam instituenda consilium) for the express purpose of showing how far they surpassed those of the Christian kingdoms. The art of war, the order of battle, together with offensive and defensive weapons, were very different then from what they are in our days. The use of artillery, though it frequently determined the result of a battle, was generally stigmatized as "cruel, cowardly, and murderous." (Knolles, v. i, p. 352). Light skirmishes, either between individuals or companies, continued to be the favourite mode of warfare. "Both armies would many times forbear for

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placed at the opening of an unbounded career. New incentives were offered to the

hours to shoot any shot on purpose to see those gallants, with *true* prowess, prove their valour and manhood one upon another *with their spears and swords only.*" In these combats the Turks displayed such superior address that the Christian general found it necessary to prohibit them on pain of death, to the disheartening of his own men and the encouragement of the Turks, "who would sometimes brave the Christians upon the top of their own trenches." (p. 477.) The Turks, however, were not yet inferior to their enemies even in the use and management of ordnance. During the siege of Nice in Provence, when they co-operated with the French in consequence of a treaty made between Soliman and Francis, Barbarossa left it to the choice of the allies either to attack the castle, or to keep the field for the purpose of defending the besiegers and repulsing the sallies of the besieged. "The French standing in doubt of which to make choice, the proud old Turk scorning their slow resolution, and them also as men unfit for the ready accomplishment of any martial exploit, caused seven pieces of battery, whereof two were of wonderful greatness, to be placed in a trice in a place most convenient, and the same quickly intrenched and fortified, to the great admiration of the French, with which pieces he had quickly beaten down the battlements of the walls and centinel houses, so that no man was able to shew himself upon the walls."—"Vastius (general of the imperial army) and the Duke of Savoy coming to Nice, commended the captain of the castle, and wondering at the cunning manner of the Turks fortifications, preferred them in that point before the Christians." (p. 502, 503.) Guicciardini (histor. l. xv, p. 266) says, that the Italians learned the art of fortifying towns from the Turks. Knolles also (v. i, p. 482, 499) acknowledges their superiority to the Germans in this respect, as well as in the disposition, the order, and the discipline of their camps. Marsigli (t. ii, p. 56) informs us, that we are indebted to the Turks for the improvement in the

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strongest passions of our nature, cupidity and ambition, a wide field was exposed to curious investigation and philosophical research, by the successful navigation of Vasco di Gama and Columbus, the discovery of a new heaven and a new world, by the invention of the art of printing and of optical glasses, by improvements in mechanism and in chemistry, and chiefly by the speculations of that illustrious philosopher who, rejecting the petulance of dogmatism and the vanity of hypothesis, pointed out experiment and observation as the basis of truth and the

shape and the materials of tents. "Doria, the Genoese admiral, confessed, that a more firm or orderly fleet (than Barbarossa's) could not have been brought out by any expert captain." (Knolles, v. i, p. 464). "Quæ cogitantem" (says Busbequius, epist. iii, p. 115, with a despondency which the long contemplation of the excellences of the Ottoman system naturally induced in the mind of a German) "horror corripit, quid postremo futurum sit, cum hanc nostram rationem cum eorum comparo: superare alteros, alteros interire necesse est; ambo certe incolumes non possumus. Ab illa parte stant immensæ imperii opes, vires integræ, armorum usus et exercitatio, miles veteranus, victoriarum assiduitas, laborum patientia, concordia, ordo, disciplina, frugalitas, vigilantia. Ab hac nostra, publica egestas, privatus luxus, diminutæ vires, fracti animi, laboris et armorum insolentia, contumaces milites, duces avari, disciplinæ contemptus, licentia, temeritas, ebrietas, crapula; quoque est pessimum, illis vincere, nobis vinci solitum. Et dubitamus etiam quid eventurum sit?"

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way to useful discovery. Polite literature and the elegant arts of painting and music were cultivated and encouraged, particularly in Italy. Europeans were already beginning to assert the superiority of intellect, and were occupied in every inquiry which could diminish the sway of prejudice and enlarge the sphere of the understanding. But the institutions of Soliman placed a barrier between his subjects and future improvement. He beheld with complacency and exultation the eternal fabric which his hands had reared; and the curse denounced against pride has reduced the nation, which participated in his sentiments, to a state of inferiority to the present level of civilized men. From the reign of Soliman, and the promulgation of his imperial constitutions, we are to date the decline of the Ottoman power. The empire continued, however, to support itself by physical strength and the renown which it had previously acquired. Even at the present day its degeneracy is not obviously perceptible by a mere comparison of its actual state with the more flourishing periods of its history. Its inferiority in the scale of nations can be detected only by comparisons which the confined views of the Turks render

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them incapable of making. Thus they continued to whet the sword and to bend the bow, when their adversaries shot death from a greater distance, and frustrated the efforts of their valour or their skill by combinations which they had neither science to unravel, nor power to resist.

Selim the Second, on his accession to the throne, received an ambassador from the emperor Maximilian with overtures of peace. He himself was desirous of a suspension of hostilities, that he might restore tranquillity to the provinces, and security to the frontiers, of his empire. Maximilian, as a preliminary to the negociation, paid the arrears of his tribute for Hungary; and obtained from the sultan an armistice for eight years on the condition, that both parties should retain the territories of which they were in actual possession. The prince of Transilvania was also invited or compelled to accept peace on similar terms*.

Selim the Second. A. D. 1566—1574.

The Ottoman sultan was impatient of re-

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 560, 562, 565. Cantemir, p. 219, 220. Mignot, t. ii, p. 161. Coxe, v. i, p. 638. "In Ungaria Cæsar, ut pace frueretur, Turcæ ejus regni nomine, si recte memini, solvebat 45000 talerorum." Lazarus Soranzus, de milit. cop. Turc. in Turc. imp. statu ap. Elzevir. p. 264.

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pose. He meditated an expedition against Persia in order to restrain and chastise the incursions of that power; but that he might diminish the difficulties of the march, and facilitate the conveyance of his military stores, he projected to form a canal between the Volga and the Don, which would have enabled him to penetrate into the Caspian sea with his fleets and armies. The Turkish soldiery were already discouraged by the length of the labour and the impediments to its accomplishment, when the emissaries of the Tartar *khan* caused the scheme to be abandoned, by artfully suggesting, that the higher latitudes are interdicted to Mussulmans, because the shortness of the nights in summer prevents their observance of the precepts of their religion*. In the meantime the king of Persia sent his ambassador to the porte, and averted the indignation of the sultan by conciliatory presents and pacific proposals†.

Selim had scarcely confirmed the league which Soliman his father had made with the

* See Cantemir, p. 220. Relatio incerti in Turc. imp. statu ap. Elzevir. p. 143. Tab. Gén. t. ii, p. 186.

† See Knolles, v. i, p. 567.

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Venetians, when he was urged by the desire of conquest to complain of the infraction of the treaty, by the protection which they afforded to the pirates of Istria, and by the admission of the gallies of Malta into the harbours of Cyprus.

Richard the First, king of England, obtained the kingdom of Cyprus by conquest, and exchanged it with Guy, the titular king of Jerusalem. In the year 1423 it became tributary to the sultans of Egypt, and was ceded to the republic of Venice by the widow of the last king of the house of Lusignan. The Venetians continued to pay the stipulated tribute both to the Mamelukes and the Ottomans. Selim, however, considered the acquisition of this fertile and commodious island to be necessary for the convenience of his subjects, the safety of his empire, and the honour of his crown. He therefore arrogantly claimed it from the Venetians as a dismemberment of his kingdom of Egypt, and meeting with a spirited refusal, prepared an expedition to wrest it from them by force*. A. D. 1191.

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 570—572. Mignot, t. ii, p. 163, 166. Relatio incerti, in Turc. imp. statu ap. Elzevir. p. 146.

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In all the Greek islands which were possessed by the Franks, the arrival of a Turkish army was welcomed by a host of insurgents, desirous of a change of masters and anxious to ensure the success of the invaders. The villages and open country were inhabited by peasants of the Greek communion, the descendants of the ancient inhabitants, who, though in some instances the most numerous part of the population, continued unconnected by interest or affection, or by any communion of principles or opinions, with the existing government. In the domestic administration of the affairs of Venice, the general interests of the people were in some degree necessarily combined with the preservation of the state and the privileges of the nobility, while a system exclusively and oppressively aristocratical was adopted in the colonies. The military, ecclesiastical, and administrative, functions were exercised solely by Venetian citizens, who absorbed the riches of the country, and discouraged the emulation, and even the industry, of the natives by their tyranny and rapacity*.

It is a policy which seems congenial to all the ecclesiastical establishments of the Chris-

* See Mignot, t. ii, p. 170.

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tian religion, to compel the professors of heterodox opinions to retire to humble life and rustic occupations. When the government of the Roman empire became Christian, the name of *pagan*, or peasant, was soon peculiarly appropriated to that class of the inhabitants who refused to renounce the religion of their ancestors. The villages have been successively peopled by adherents to the Greek or Roman communion, in proportion as either church has attained the superiority, or has yielded to foreign force and domestic schism. The predominance of the Catholic religion, which was that of the Venetian state, injured and offended the partisans of a rival and persecuted church, who were not only excluded from a participation in the honours and the emoluments of public office, but were taunted with the reproach of ingratitude and disloyalty, because they felt the degradation of their sect, and did not acknowledge the justice and clemency of that toleration which abstained only from active persecution. The sense of inferiority was embittered by the haughty deportment of the professors of the favoured religion; by the studied pomp of their ceremonials, the wealth of their establishment, and the luxury

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of their clergy; by the spirit of their public discourses, and the insolence of their private exhortations. The Greeks became indifferent to the prosperity of the commonwealth. Resentment for undeserved humiliation made them even regard as a deliverer, the enemy who, without aggravating their temporal subjection, would confer spiritual freedom; and from the delusions of this unreasoning sentiment, they resigned into the hands of a tyrant the political independence of their country*.

The invading army of the Turks was abundantly supplied with provisions, while

* See Voyages du Sieur A. de la Motraye, t. i, p. 234, 462 (fol. A la Haye 1727), for the aversion of the Greeks to the Venetian government.

The religious disputes of the Greeks and Latins continued in their full vigour even while the Turks were besieging the city of Constantinople. The great duke, a partisan of the monk Gennadius who was a determined enemy to the union of the churches, publicly declared, that he would rather see the turban than the tiara in the church of Sancta Sophia.—"He was certainly in the right," say the compilers of the Universal History (v. xii, p. 148, note). But can the politician approve, can the patriot or the Christian even comprehend the grounds, of this bigotted decision? "Esto perpetua," were the last words of Father Paul, who poured out his soul in prayers for his country, and who taught his countrymen, that though the duties of religion and morality are of paramount obligation, yet the preservation of a church establishment is subordinate to the prosperity of the commonwealth. "Siamo Veneziani, poi Christiani."

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the cities occupied by Venetian garrisons, were almost destitute of common necessaries*:—a convincing proof of the existence of a system of government bad in itself, and hateful to the majority of the nation. The means of defending the island were consequently inadequate to resist the mighty preparations of the Ottomans. They became masters of Cyprus, together with the capital and fortified cities, and gratified the religious animosities of the Greeks by an indiscriminate massacre of the Latin nobility and clergy†.

The Venetian navy being singly unequal to a contest with that of the Turks, had afforded no effectual relief to the besieged islanders, but idly attempted a diversion in their favour by ravaging the Turkish cities on the coast of Dalmatia‡. After the reduction of Cyprus, the Ottoman fleet scoured the gulf of Venice, blocked up the ports, and threw the city itself into the utmost consternation§. In the mean time, a league

* See Mignot, t. ii, p. 170, 172.

† See Knolles, v. i, p. 573—587. Mignot, t. ii, p. 173, 190.

‡ See Knolles, v. i, p. 574, 578. Mignot, t. ii, p. 182.

§ See Knolles, v. i, p. 589. Dissertatio ex Honorio, in Turc. imp. statu ap. Elzevir. p. 152.

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for common defence against the Turks was concluded, chiefly by the address and exhortations of Pius the Fifth, between the Venetian republic, the king of Spain, and the pope*: but the jealousy of Philip and the diffidence of the Venetians retarded the preparations, and weakened the exertions, of the confederates. The union of their navies was effected with difficulty, and the disputes and dissensions of the commanders consumed an important season, which ought to have been employed in deliberations for the accomplishment of a common object†. The allies were unwilling to hazard an engagement where the consequences of a defeat would have been irreparably injurious. The Ottomans, on the other hand, though their fleet was stronger than the united squadrons of the Christians, were induced by the appearance of so formidable an armament to change their plan of operations, and to act on the defensive. The meeting of the hostile fleets, and the battle of Lepanto which ensued, were occasioned rather by inaccurate

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 579, 581, 582. Mignot, t. ii, p. 178—182. Voltaire, essai sur les mœurs, chap. clx.

† Dissertatio ex Honorio, in Turc. imp. statu ap. Elzevir. p. 152. Knolles, v. i, p. 591, 592.

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observation, and an erroneous estimate of each other's strength, than by a design on either part to contend with the whole force of the enemy*. The allies gained a decisive victory. They captured, burned, or sunk two hundred vessels†; and the wreck of the Turkish fleet, which fled to the ports of the Morea, spread dejection and alarm throughout the capital and the empire‡.

The states of Christendom indulged in universal festivity on the occasion of this first signal defeat which their common enemy had sustained§. But the allies do not appear distinctly to have perceived the efficient

* "Nemo etiam ignorat, exploratorum vitio factum fuisse, ut navale certamen committeretur: utriusque enim partis exploratores retulerant, minorem esse navigiorum numerum quam utrinque habebatur." (Dissertatio ex Honorio, in Turc. imp. statu ap. Elzevir. p. 153.)

† See Knolles, v. i, p. 594—599. Cantemir, p. 223, 224. "This calamity," he says, "seemed to be foretold by the fall of the wooden roof of the temple at Mecca, according to the interpretation of the wise men, which, that it might be a more firm emblem of the empire, Selim ordered it to be rebuilt with brick."

‡ "Hisce temporibus superba opinio illa, quam Turcæ animis suis impresserant, se a Christianis oppugnari ac vinci non posse, ablata et abolita est." Relatio incerti apud Honorium, in Turc. imp. statu ap. Elzevir. p. 125.

§ Purchas (pilgrimage, p. 323) says, that "our gracious sovereign King James has written a poem of this battle."

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cause of their success, nor to have derived from it such confidence in their superiority as the greatness of the event ought naturally to have produced. In seamanship they were superior to their adversaries*; but this advantage was less important than it would be in the present state of maritime warfare. A sea-fight in those days was more a trial of strength than of skill. A land army was always embarked on board the fleet, and the service of mariners was accounted of little value in comparison with that of soldiers†. Vessels of war were managed chiefly by oars, and gallies were preferred to larger ships, on account of their lightness and activity‡. A beak of metal was fixed on their prows for the purpose of *stemming* the enemy's ships, against the sides of which they were forcibly impelled, so as to disable or overset them. Grappling and boarding immediately succeeded the attempt to sink or destroy. The soldiers fought hand to hand

* "Non ea quæ nobis maritimarum rerum est illis facilitas." Montalban. in Turc. imp. statu ap. Elzevir. p. 23.

† See Knolles, v. i, p. 599, 598. "Militia fere omnis incompta et rudis, nisi quæ consulto destinatum ad facinus emittitur; ejusmodi namque occasionibus terrestres jubentur militiæ." Montalbán. in Turc. imp. statu ap. Elzevir. p. 23.

‡ See Montesquieu, grandeur et décadence des Romains, chap. iv.

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with sword and pike, or annoyed the enemy from a short distance with muskets, bows, and slings. The use of fire-arms had not entirely superseded that of ancient weapons, nor induced such improvements in the construction of ships and the ordering of a fleet, as to constitute any essential variation from the practice of antiquity. The squadrons were arranged in order of battle in the form of a half-moon, or in lines parallel to each other. It was considered an essential advantage to have the sun in the rear, and to get to windward of the enemy. Before the engagement began, the admiral of each division went in his barge from ship to ship, and exhorted the captains and the soldiery to exert themselves with valour. The commander in chief hoisted the signal for action, and directed the continuance of the battle, as well as the pursuit or the retreat, by different movements of his standard, or by martial music. It was, however, left in a great degree to the discretion or the choice of each captain, to single out from the enemy's line the ship with which he judged himself best able to contend*.

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 594, 595. Mignot, t. ii, p. 196, 197. Dissertatio ex Honorio, in Turc. imp. statu ap. Elzevir. p. 152, 153.

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The Turkish force in the battle of Lepanto consisted wholly of gallies, while the Christians had cautiously strengthened their armament by six *galeasses* of larger dimension and more solid construction, the use of which in war was hitherto unknown to their enemies. These vessels were furnished with heavy ordnance and fortified like castles, but as they were too unwieldy to perform the necessary evolutions, they were anchored in the front of each division of the fleet, at the distance of about a mile, and so disposed as to cover the whole line of their own squadrons. They kept up a heavy and destructive fire on the Turkish fleet, as it passed them in order of battle, and by throwing it into confusion before the commencement of the general engagement, contributed essentially to the victory*.

From such imperfect essays of the advantages of artillery, and its adaptation to the purposes of naval warfare, a gradual and total change has been effected in the maritime system of Europe. The strength and the size of vessels have been increased, in order that they may support the weight, and resist the shock, of cannon. A ship of

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 591, 595. Mignot, t. ii, p. 194, 196.

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war is become an immense and complicated machine which mere strength is no longer capable of managing. Naval superiority is connected with the general improvement of knowledge: it can be attained only by the diligent study of the principles on which it depends, by an intimate acquaintance with the rules, and the habitual practice, of the art.

A whole reign is at present insufficient for the formation of a navy capable of keeping the sea before a power already in possession of its empire; but though the Turks had lost almost all their experienced officers in this disastrous battle, yet, in the interval of a single winter, they rebuilt and equipped their fleet, which immediately sailed from Constantinople in the full confidence of victory. The discouragement occasioned by defeat is generally more injurious to a state than the loss which is really sustained. The Turks felt and acknowledged the whole extent of the injury and the disgrace; but the vast resources of the empire, and the manly character of its inhabitants, rendered them eager to restore the lustre of the Ottoman arms, and roused the sultan from his momentary despondency. He exerted himself

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with energy in the prosecution of the war, of which the succeeding events and the final issue made it appear as if the Ottomans themselves had gained the battle of Lepanto*.

The Venetians were anxious to avail themselves of their victory for the recovery of the island of Cyprus, but Philip withdrew his squadrons and turned his attention from the wars in the east to an expedition against the kingdom of Tunis. He sent only a small part of his contingent for the ensuing campaign, and instructed his captains to thwart, instead of assisting, the designs of the Venetians. His whole conduct appeared to be dictated rather by the apprehension of increasing the power of the republic than by the wish of diminishing the strength of the Ottomans†. The senate determined to abandon the prosecution of hostilities which the

* See Cantemir, p. 224, 225. Dissertatio ex Honorio, in Turc. imp. statu ap. Elzevir. p. 123. Voltaire, essai sur les mœurs, chap. clx.

† See Knolles, v. i, p. 601—610. Mignot, t. ii, p. 203—205. Dissertatio ex Honorio, in Turc. imp. statu ap. Elzevir. p. 154, 155; also two MSS. in the Harleian collection, numbered 1869 and 1870, entitled Giustificatione de' Venetiani per la pace fatta col Turco, and, Risposta alle giustificationi della serenissima signoria di Venetia per la pace fatta col Turco.

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doubtful faith and feeble co-operation of the allies rendered unavailing and disgraceful. They directed their ambassador at the porte to negociate a separate treaty even during the existence of the league, and they eagerly accepted peace from the sultan, though purchased on the humiliating conditions of confirming his conquests and contributing to the expenses of the war*.

Selim the Second did not assume in person the command of his armies, but his subjects did not ascribe his inactivity in this respect to neglect of duty or deficiency of valour. He is indeed censured by historians for the intemperate indulgence of his appetites. His councils were, however, actuated by the same spirit, and his measures were executed with the same vigour, as those of his father. He recovered Tunis from the Spaniards, preserved the integrity of his Hungarian frontiers, and quelled the insurrection of the Moldavians†. He was, notwithstanding, addicted to the most ridiculous superstition. He was alarmed for the safety of the empire and the security of his reign by uncommon

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 611—613. Mignot, t. ii, p. 205—207.

† See Knolles, v. i, p. 613—620. Cantemir, p. 226, 227. Mignot, t. ii, p. 210—221.

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appearances in the sky, or by excessive rains; and it is worthy of remark, that, contrary to the usage of preceding astrologers, who interpreted every phenomenon to the honour and the increase of the Ottoman power, the wise men of Selim's reign, either from a contemplation of his personal character or of contemporary events, discovered malignancy in every aspect of the heavenly bodies, and in every occurrence of ordinary life. The monarch himself was intimidated into a melancholy which caused his death by a fire which broke out in the kitchens and offices of the seraglio and consumed some valuable porcelain*.

Murad the Third. A. D. 1574—1595.

Henry de Valois having abdicated the throne of Poland on the death of his brother Charles the Ninth, king of France, the Emperor Maximilian was chosen by a party of the nobility, and was even proclaimed king by the primate. Murad the Third determined, however, to prevent the house of Austria from obtaining an accession of strength which might endanger the safety of the Ottoman dominions in Europe. He recommended the *vaivoda* of Transilvania to the choice of the diet, and his interference prevailed upon

* See Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 387—389.

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them to revoke the election of Maximilian, and to decree, that the *vaivoda* should be crowned, on the condition of his marrying the princess Anne, sister of the late king Sigismund. The merits and virtues of Stephen confirmed the allegiance, and gained the affection, of the Polish nation. Maximilian refused to acknowledge his title, but was prevented by death from disturbing his reign, or from establishing his own pretensions*. Murad, in the mean time, entered into a league of amity with the new king of Poland, and being now at peace with Christendom, he directed his whole attention to the affairs of the East†. He resolved upon carrying the war into Persia, though experience had shown it to be an enterprise of difficult execution, and of doubtful advantage even when attended with victory. That A. D. 1576. kingdom, on the death of Shah Tahmasp, was embroiled by the dissensions of the royal family and the hostilities of their respective partisans, was enfeebled by the defections of the provincial governors, and wasted by the inroads of the Usbek Tartars‡. Murad was excited to

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 651, 652. Mignot, t. ii, p. 228, 229. Coxe, v. i, p. 643, 644.

† See Knolles, v. i, p. 656, 657.

‡ See Knolles, v. i, p. 652—654. Mignot, t. ii, p. 231.

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avail himself of the opportunity afforded by the calamities of Persia, to extend the dominion of the house of Osman, and to restore the pure religion of Mahomet.

The Ottoman sultans had attempted in their former expeditions to invade Persia through the desert countries which lie beyond the Euphrates and the Tigris, but had uniformly been compelled to abandon their enterprise by the difficulty of procuring subsistence, or even water, for their numerous armies, in plains naturally barren, or purposely reduced to sterility on the retreat of the former inhabitants*. Murad relinquished

283. Modern Universal History, v. v, p. 490, also a M.S. in the Harleian collection, No. 1872, entitled Relatione dello stato nel quale si ritruova il governo dell' imperio Turchesco quest' anno 1594.

* Alexander Severus invaded Persia by different roads with three Roman armies, one of which entered the plains of Babylon towards the conflux of the Euphrates and the Tigris, another penetrated into Media through Armenia and a long tract of mountainous country, while the main body marched through Mesopotamia to invade the centre of the kingdom. (See Gibbon, v. 1, p. 339.) The event of these several expeditions was similar to those of the Turkish sultans Selim and Soliman. The difficulties of each are well described by Montesquieu (Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence, chap. xv.) " Prenoit-on le chemin de l'Arménie, vers les sources du Tygre et de l'Euphrate, on trouvoit un pays montueux et difficile, où l'on ne pouvoit mener de convois, de façon que l'armée

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the attempt of making conquests, which he could not preserve, in countries which were separated by deserts. Instead of dividing his armies so as to invade Persia by several passages at the same time, he appointed Erzerum to be the general rendezvous, and assembled the whole of his forces in Armenia in order to penetrate at once into the heart of Georgia and Media*. He collected great store of corn which he sent by sea to Trebizond †, and built castles on the coast of Mingrelia in order to favour the expedition, and to open a passage by water into Georgia‡. He secured the borders of his own dominions, as a preliminary to offensive opera-

étoit demi ruinée avant d'arriver en Médie. Entroit-on plus bas, vers le midi, par Nisibe, on trouvoit un désert affreux qui séparoit les deux empires. Vouloit-on passer plus bas encore, et aller par la Mésopotamie, on traversoit un pays en partie inculte, en partie submergé; et le Tygre et l'Euphrate, allant du nord au midi, on ne pouvoit pénétrer dans le pays, sans quitter ces fleuves, ni guère quitter ces fleuves sans périr."

* Murad in advancing with his whole force through the mountains of Armenia (quæ ferme sola, seu facilior vincendi via est. Aurel. Vict.) inadvertently executed the project of Julius Cæsar and imitated the conduct of Trajan and Galerius. (See Gibbon, v. ii, p. 146.)

† See Knolles, v. i, p. 658.

‡ See Knolles, v. i, p. 669. Chardin, voyage en Perse et aux Indes Orientales, par la Mer Noire et par la Colchide, part. , p. 143, fol. Londres 1686.

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tions, and first announced his hostile projects by reconstructing the fortifications of Kars, which had been demolished in consequence of the treaty made between Soliman and Tahmasp*. The Turks persisted in completing the works, notwithstanding the attempts of the Persians to interrupt or destroy them. The frequent skirmishes and mutual inroads of the troops which were in garrison on the frontiers, led to an open declaration of war, and the first campaign of the Ottomans was marked by the compulsive or voluntary submission of the most powerful princes of Georgia, the capture of Tiflis, and the conquest of the province of Shirvan†, which gave them possession of Derbent, and enabled them to effect a junction with the Tartar *khan*, who had been directed, in expectation of the event,

* "Nelli capitoli che furno tra di loro fu detto, che la fortezza di Charso fosse gittata à terra, et che per otto miglia dall' una et l'altra parte fosse fatto deserto, à fine che in alcun tempo potesse manco nascere tra convicini dissensione, così mai l'uno contra l'altro mosse l'armi." (Relatione di Persia, l'anno 1580. a M.S. No. 1874, in the Harleian collection.)

† See Knolles, v. i, p. 659, 660, 662, 663. Cantemir, p. 229, 230.

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to proceed with his army to the north of the Caspian Gates*.

The greater resources of the Ottoman empire in money, in artillery, and in regular forces, enabled the sultan to carry on an offensive war against the Persians with advantage. The Persian cavalry was held in deserved estimation, but the Persians, on account of their remoteness from Europe, remained almost wholly uninstructed in the use of fire-arms and the improvements of modern

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 662, 664. "Et hæc quidem hactenus de Tartaris dicta sunto; de quibus hoc unicum adjiciam, quod memoria et consideratione dignissimum est, videlicet Tartaros Europæos Romanorum tempore in Persiam per Demir Capi (id est, per portas ferreas, per quas Alexander Magnus ad Georgianos transiit) copias traducere solitos esse, quorum vestigiis nostra memoria Osman Bassa institit et eadem via in Persiam tetendit." (Lazarus Soranzus, de milit. cop. Turc. in Turc. imp. statu ap. Elzevir. p. 252.) The Mahometan religion inculcates a particular respect for the Caspian Gates, which is founded on the belief, that the famous wall *Sedd-Iskender* was built by the angel Gabriel. They are called by the Orientals *Derbend-Cal'assy, Demir Capou*, or *Bab'ul Ebwab*. (See Tab. Gén. t. iii, p. 311.) The importance of this passage to the strength and security of the Asiatic provinces is described by Tacitus, annal. vi, 34, by Strabo, geograph. l. xi, p. 764, and by Procopius, bell. Pers. l. i, and was acknowledged by Sultan Murad, in whose presence Osman Pasha related the success of his military expeditions, and received such marks of favour as had never before been conferred on a subject. (See Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 318—322.)

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warfare*. They placed their principal security against foreign invasion in the natural advantages of their country, which was defended by a sultry climate, by craggy mountains, and sandy deserts. They retreated before the Turks to their inaccessible fastnesses, and wasted the immediate seat of war, so as to leave nothing for the subsistence of their enemies. They harassed the Ottoman armies on their march, intercepted their convoys, and cut off their foraging parties; drew them into ambushes by judicious feints, attacked them during the passage of rivers, or in the straits of the mountains, and falling upon them with collected force in their retreats, frequently succeeded in cutting off their rear, and capturing or destroying their artillery and baggage†. Murad sought to avoid the calamities which his predecessors had experienced, by adopting a more dilatory, though less hazardous, plan of operations. Instead of venturing on uncertainties, and exposing his armies to the

* See Elzevir. Turc. imp. status, p. 295. Mignot, t. ii, p. 230.

† See Knolles, v. i, p. 660—707. Cantemir, p. 283. Mignot, t. ii, p. 235.

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power of the enemy in countries fortified by nature, he projected the establishment of permanent garrisons as he advanced, so as to command the roads and passes, and to facilitate the means of regular communication between his armies; but his treasury was unequal to the construction of fortresses and the maintenance of garrisons in desolated and unappropriated countries*, and his plans were baffled by the refractoriness of his soldiers, who peremptorily refused to subject themselves to servile labour and the hardships of garrison-service†. The war was protracted through twelve campaigns, and though it was not rendered memorable by any great event nor any decisive battle, it was fatal to the Ottomans on account of the mortality occasioned not less by famine and sickness than by the temerity and obstinacy of their generals. The Persians adhered to

* "Costano ad Amurath un thesoro per li presidij che vi convien tenere, et la grossa provisione di vettovaglie, poiche il paese non ne cava; et non ne ha utile dagli habitanti, sendo questi ritirati alle montagne, et altri luoghi de' Giorgiani." (Relatione dello stato, &c. M.S. No. 1872 in the Harleian collection.)

† See Knolles, v. i, p. 662, 666, 667, 679, 681, 686, 688, 705. Cantemir, p. 233. See also M.S. No. 1872 in the Harleian collection, Relatione dello stato, &c.

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their plan of defensive war, and deferred their chief attacks until the winter season, when they fell upon the Ottomans, after the main army was disbanded, cut to pieces their dispersed garrisons, and re-occupied the countries which had submitted to their arms. Both parties were, however, exhausted by the long duration of such destructive hostilities: the sultan was at length induced, from the necessity of confirming his conquests by distributing them among his soldiery, to accede to the proposals of the king of Persia, who resigned to his dominion the cities of Erivan, Tauris, and Ganja, together with the territory which he had conquered in Armenia, Georgia, and Shirvan*.

The Turks thus maintained the ascendancy which they had formerly acquired over the nations of the East, and were as yet untaught by experience, that they were no longer superior in arms to the Western Christians. The military commanders on the borders of Hungary and Croatia, although the

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 707. Cantemir, p. 231—234. "Fertur, Turcam, bello quod cum Persa gessit, tantum sibi terræ subjecisse, ut quadraginta Timarrorum millia in ea erexerit, instituerit que novum gazophylacium Tauriaii, unde aureorum millio ad ipsum redit." Elzevir. (ex politeia regia) p. 285.

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Ottoman and Austrian monarchies were presumed to be at peace, encouraged or permitted incursions into the neighbouring territories, for the purpose of procuring plunder and exercising the courage of their soldiers. In these savage inroads castles were surprised and villages destroyed: the cultivated country was spoiled of its cattle and produce, and the peasantry were driven into slavery. It was, however, only when they were carried to excess, that they attracted the attention, or excited the remonstrance, of either government*.

Croatia, a province on the frontiers of Turkey, was transferred as a fief to Charles, duke of Styria, who, in order to maintain it in an adequate state of defence, and to check or retaliate the aggressions of the Turks, built the fortress of Karlstadt, and distributed lands among a colony of freebooters whom he formed into a militia†. The Uscocks, another band of adventurers, obtained a settlement in Styria, whence they infested both the sea and land, and harassed the Turks with desultory, but unremitted, hostilities‡.

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 705, 706, 708, 714, 716.
† See Coxe, v. i, p. 679.
‡ See Knolles, v. i, p. 713, 714. Coxe, v. i, p. 680, 681.

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Christian historians accuse the sultan of having first violated the league which he had made with Rodolph the Second on the death of Maximilian. But, however desirous he might be of annexing to his kingdom of Hungary the towns and castles which were still possessed by the house of Austria, it was for the avowed purpose of punishing the injuries which his subjects had received from the Uscocks, that he authorized the *pasha* of Bosnia, without any previous declaration of war, to invade Croatia with an army of fifty thousand men*. The Austrian troops, under the command of the arch-duke Matthias, attempted the siege of Alba, and though it was raised by the *pasha* of Buda, they took Filec and Novigrad, and were besieging Gran when they were completely routed by the grand vizir, who, in his turn, made himself master of Raab, one of the strongest fortresses of Lower Hungary, which was esteemed the bulwark of Vienna†.

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 714, 715. Coxe, v. i, p. 681.

† See Knolles, v. i, p. 721—724, 726, 734. Mignot, t. ii, p. 252—256. "Jattavano di voler passare l'Austria, et voler andare in Bohemia, nel qual regno havevano molte loro spie per torre in nota li fiumi, le fortezze, il sito del paese, sperando per quella loro alterezza Turchesca d'acquistar facilmente tutti quei paesi." Relatione dello stato dell' imperio Turchesco, nel anno 1594.

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The *vaivoda* of Transilvania, from considerations of personal advantage, formed an alliance with the enemies of the porte, and prevailed upon the princes of Wallachia and Moldavia to join in the confederacy*. The affairs of the Ottomans, notwithstanding their successes in Hungary and Croatia, were so endangered by this combination as to require the presence of the sultan at the head of his troops. Murad, in spite of his reluctance to expose his person to the fatigues and dangers of a campaign, was preparing to join the army, when he was seized with a fever and died†.

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 736, 737. It was stipulated in the treaty of offensive and defensive alliance between Sigismund and Rodolph, that Transilvania should be made a fief of the empire, hereditary in the reigning family and, on the failure of natural heirs, in that of Austria; that the *vaivoda* should marry a princess of the imperial family, be made prince of the Roman empire and knight of the order of the golden fleece, and that an asylum should be granted to him in the hereditary dominions, with a revenue suitable to his dignity, in the event of his being forced by the success of the Turks to abandon his principality. The Transilvanians were, however, dissatisfied with the conduct of their prince, and laid a scheme to seize upon his person, and to deliver him into the hands of the Turks. Sigismund prevented the conspiracy by apprehending, and condemning to death, fourteen of the principal nobility, whom, for that purpose, he had invited to a public entertainment.

† See Mignot, t. ii, p. 258—261. All the Turkish historians I have seen," says Cantemir, p. 235, "strangely pass over in silence

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Mahomet the Third. A. D. 1595—1603.

The Hungarian war continued throughout the reign of Mahomet the Third*, and the

the character and manners of this emperor, contrary to their constant custom." D'Ohsson, however, appears to have been more successful in his researches, and we learn from him, that Murad the Third, who was naturally credulous, became, on account of the disasters of his reign, a slave to the most gloomy superstition, so that even his public conduct and the decisions of his cabinet were influenced by the prognostications of dreamers, soothsayers and astrologers. The vices of his character, among which avarice was the most predominant, arose, in a great degree, from the same cause, which gradually generated such an infirmity of mind that his death was occasioned, in his fifty-fourth year, by the shock of so trivial an accident as the breaking of a pane of glass. (See Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 389—405.) His constitutional vigour is scarcely less extraordinary than his mental imbecility. According to D'Ohsson he distributed his favours among forty ladies of the imperial *harem*, and so occupied them as to leave neither leisure nor inclination for interference in politics and court-intrigues. "Vengo al secondo capo della libidine (says the writer of the state of the Turkish empire in the year 1594) "nella quale cede poco à Tiberio, à Nerone et à Caligula, percioche oltre la moglie ha 23 schiave di maravigliosa bellezza per concubine ordinarie, ed altre extraordinarie, alle quali attende cosi bene che si sono vedute muovere in un' istesso tempo trenta-due cune con 32 figluoli dentro d'esso signore."

* Sultan Murad left nineteen sons, "who being all strangle by command of the eldest, followed their father to immortality." (Cantemir, p. 235.) It was probably in allusion to this event, which perhaps was recent when Shakspere wrote the second part of Henry the Fourth, that the prince of Wales, with a sovereign disregard of chronology, says to his brothers, in order to relieve their anxiety on the death of the king,

"This is the English, not the Turkish court:
Not Amurath an Amurath succeeds,
But Harry Harry."

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events of almost every campaign, subsequently to the defection of the Transilvanians and their confederates, tended to destroy the opinion which had been hitherto common both to the Imperialists and the Turks, that the Ottoman armies were invincible*. In the hostile and irregular inroads which preceded the war, and the success of which depended on the secrecy of preparation and the celerity of execution, the Turks were frequently intercepted on their return by the troops of the neighbouring garrisons or the armed inhabitants of the country, were stripped of their spoil, and cut to pieces or driven out of the province with loss and confusion. In the more regular warfare they evinced an evident inferiority to their enemies in the scientific attack of fortified places†, or the systematic disposition of their forces in the field; in employing or counteracting military stratagems; in guarding against, or recovering from, surprise; in availing themselves

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 743.

† "Duo hæc maxime milites in universum bella horrent; Persicum, ob longinquitatem, desertaque terrarum qua necessario transeundum est; Hungaricumque, ob arcium obstacula crebra, diversumque bellandi genus; quo, nisi cominus, ut ipsi dicunt, igne pugnatur." Montalbanus, in Turc. imp. statu ap. Elzevir. p. 86.

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of advantages with judgment and promptitude, or in showing constancy and fortitude under difficulties and defeats. They relied principally on their disproportioned superiority of number. The infidels in many instances pillaged their camps while their armies remained inactive, and even drove them from their fortifications almost without meeting resistance*.

In former wars Transilvania had facilitated the passage of the Turks and the Tartars into Hungary, and, by dividing the forces, had weakened the exertions, of their enemies. But the Tartars, in consequence of the revolt of the *vaivoda* and his confederates, and the refusal of the Poles to allow them to pass through the territories of the republic, were obliged to force a passage through an enemy's country, in order to form a junction with the Turkish armies†. The Austrians were left at leisure, by so strong a diversion, to pursue their plans of conquest. While the common miseries of war were aggravated to the Ottomans by famine and disease, which were occasioned by the privation of supplies

* See Knolles, v. i, art. Mahomet the Third, passim. p. 741—836.

† See Knolles, v. i, p. 725, 727, 728, 755, 812.

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from the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, on which they chiefly relied for the subsistence of their armies in Hungary *. The war which they themselves had solicited, would probably have terminated by their expulsion from the territories beyond the Danube, if the emperor had shown wisdom in the administration of government equal to the conduct of his generals, and the courage of his soldiers †.

The confederated feudatories suspected each others fidelity, and occasionally returned to their allegiance and took up arms

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 742, 744, 754, 755, 756, 760, 764, 769, 804, 812. Coxe, v. i, p. 682.

† The loss of the strongest fortresses and chief cities in Upper and Lower Hungary, in Croatia, and Wallachia, induced a general desire in the Ottoman ministry and the nation, that Sultan Mahomet would put himself at the head of his armies. But such was his known aversion from sharing in the hazards of war, that no one dared to insinuate to him the necessity of the measure; until the *sheik*, or preacher, of Sancta Sophia publicly exhorted him, in an animated discourse, to rescue the affairs of the faithful from imminent destruction. The general sense of the assembly was in unison with the words of the preacher, and was so emphatically expressed that the sultan was induced to accede to the wishes of his people. (See Tab. Gén. t. ii, p. 371.) Mahomet commanded during three campaigns. He took the fortress of Agria, and obliged the archduke Matthias to retreat with a severe, though mutual, loss. (See Knolles, v. i, p. 768. Cantemir, p. 236, 237.)

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against their colleagues, or renounced obedience to the sultan and joined the standard of his enemies*. The dominion of the porte was, however, eventually re-established in Wallachia and Moldavia. Transilvania was ceded by Sigismund to the house of Austria; but the Austrian government was odious to the inhabitants. Sigismund again resumed, and again relinquished, the sovereignty. The insurgents, under a succession of patriotic leaders, alternately triumphed over, or fled before, the Imperial generals; but the national cause finally prevailed, and the Austrian garrisons were expelled from the principality by the successive efforts of Botskay, Bathor, and Gabor†. The Hungarians also were excited to resent the unconstitutional intrusion of foreigners into their highest offices, the licentious outrages of the German soldiery, and the general severity and intolerance of the Austrian administration: they rose up at the instigation of Botskay, and aided by the co-operation of the Transil-

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 745, 769, 770, 778. Mignot, t. ii, p. 277. Coxe, v. i, p. 683, 684.

† See Knolles, v. i, p. 769, 770, 773, 776, 783—790, 795—797, 798, 815—819, 831, 839, 840, 843, 853, 854. Coxe, v. i, p. 683, 684, 686, 687.

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vanians and the Turks, they drove out their opponents, extended their conquests over almost all the imperial division of Hungary, and re-established their national government*. The sultan, in the meantime, was harassed by seditions in his capital, and insurrections in his Asiatic provinces, by the revolt of the Georgians, and the hostilities of the Persians, who recovered the cities of Tauris and Bagdad†. The emperor was not less embroiled with his own family, his hereditary subjects, and the states of Germany, in consequence of his despotic and intolerant proceedings. He was at length compelled, by the exhausted state of his finances, the ravages of the Turks, and the evils of intestine war, to conclude a peace with Botskay on conditions favourable to the independence and the religious liberties of Hungary. The pacification of Vienna and the intervention of Botskay led to a truce for twenty years with Sultan Ahmed, who had succeeded to the throne on the death of his father Mahomet, in which it was stipulated, that the fortress A. D. 1606.

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 841, 853—876. Coxe, v. i, p. 694, 702, 703.

† See Knolles, v. i, p. 761, 809—812, 825, 839, 845, 857. Mignot, t. ii, p. 286. Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 405, 406.

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of Vakhia should be restored to the emperor, and that the sultan should retain possession of Gran, the ancient boundary of his Hungarian territory*. The Ottomans, being thus freed from the embarrassments of European warfare, quickly suppressed the tumults in Asia, and reduced the Persian king to acquiesce in terms of accommodation, which were honourable and advantageous to the empire†.

Mustafa the First. Osman the Second. A. D. 1617—1623.

The government of the Ottoman empire had been hitherto transmitted in regular succession from father to son; but on the decease of Ahmed, whose children were still in their minority, the *divan*, in conformity with the spirit of the Mussulman law, proclaimed his brother Mustafa to be the rightful successor‡. Mustafa was the first of the

* See Coxe, v. i, chap. 43, 44. Knolles, v. i, p. 876—878. Mignot, t. ii, p. 319—322.

† See Knolles, v. i, p. 880, 881. Grimston (in continuation of Knolles) p. 905, 913. Mignot, t. ii, p. 325—347.

‡ Knolles (v. i, p. 946) says, that Mustafa refused at first to accept of the empire "which rightly belonged to the eldest son of Ahmed." Cantemir (p. 241) says, that "Osman had more right to the empire than Mustafa, who was chosen as a contemplative and inoffensive man." Even D'Ohsson, notwithstanding he acknowledges, that the nomination of Mustafa was "d'après l'esprit de la loi," considers this event as a dangerous innovation. "C'est là l'époque où l'ordre de succession au trône, fut, pour ainsi dire, interverti." (Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 284.)

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collateral princes who had been confined in the Seraglio, where no pains were taken to remove his natural imbecility *. He evinced an utter incapacity for public business, and was dethroned after a reign of four months †. Osman was proclaimed sultan though he had scarcely attained the age of twelve ‡; he held his precarious sovereignty during four years, when he excited a general insurrection of the janizaries by persisting in measures which indicated an intention to enfeeble or abolish their order §. They compelled him to resign the throne to his uncle, and conducted him with every mark of ignominy to a public prison, where he was soon after murdered by the ministers of Mustafa ||.

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 945. Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 285, 411.

† See Cantemir, p. 241. Series imperatorum Turcicorum, ex annalibus Turcicis a Leunclavio editis, atque aliis scriptoribus, in Turc. imp. statu ap. Elzevir, p. 274.

‡ See Knolles, v. i, p. 945. Cantemir, p. 241, 242, says, that Osman was but eight years old: but this age is irreconcileable with that which he assigns to Murad, his younger brother (see p. 243.), and with Osman's subsequent determination to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca, which cannot be undertaken by a minor. (See Tab. Gén. t. iii, p. 59.)

§ See Knolles, v. i, p. 969, 971, 972. Mignot, t. ii, p. 419—424. Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 409. Series imperat. Turc. in Turc. imp. statu ap. Elzevir. p. 274.

|| See Knolles, v. i, p. 970. Cantemir, p. 242. Mignot,

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The severity of discipline which so pre-eminently distinguished the Ottoman armies during three centuries, gradually vanished under the successors of Soliman, whose concessions to the refractoriness of the feudal militia, and whose connivance at the irregularities of the standing army, encouraged and diffused a general spirit of licentiousness; so that, both in the provinces and in the capital, the soldiery, and particularly the janizaries, insulted the majesty of the throne and the person of the monarch by open sedition and by the violation of every duty*.

As the interests of a standing army are seldom blended with those of the public weal, the janizaries were easily seduced from their allegiance, and stimulated into revolt, by the artifice of faction, or the impulse of resentment. But the proprietors of military fiefs, though they had sometimes refused obedience to the sultan's commands, were

t. ii, p. 459. Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 299. Series imperat. Turc. in Turc. imp. statu ap. Elzevir. p. 275.

* Murad the Third was so intimidated by the frequent seditions of the janizaries (ten of which are enumerated by Mignot, t. ii, p. 261.) that for two years he did not dare to go out of the Seraglio. (See Tab. Gén. t. ii, p. 201.) See also Knolles, v. i, p. 690, 707, 708, 736. Lazarus Soranzus, de milit. cop. Turc. in Turc. imp. statu ap. Elzevir, p. 233.

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interested in upholding the constitutional prerogatives of the imperial family, and the established order of succession to the throne. The Asiatic provinces heard with indignation of the atrocities which were committed in the capital, and of the usurpations of the soldiery. They disclaimed allegiance to Mustafa, and took up arms to avenge the murder of Osman*. Their zeal excited general emulation, and the justice of their cause attracted multitudes to their standard. Even the divan and the members of the *ulema*, who perceived, that they held their lives and dignities at the mercy of the soldiery, assisted the progress of the revolt by secret co-operations and public discourses, while they disseminated jealousy and dissensions among the janizaries, whom they artfully induced to abandon the cause of Mustafa, before they adopted measures to subdue, or to reconcile, the insurgents†.

Contemporary observers, on comparing the events which occurred since the death of Ahmed with the disorders occasioned by the

* See Knolles, v. i, p. 975, 980. Rycaut, history of the Turkish empire from the year 1623 to the year 1677, in continuation of Knolles, v. ii, p. 1. Mignot, t. ii, p. 444, 461.

† See Knolles, v. i, p. 974. Rycaut, v. ii, p. 2, 3, 5.

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licentiousness of the Roman soldiery, were led to assimilate the establishment of the janizaries to that of the Prætorians, and to predict the downfal of the Ottoman empire from their lawless interference in political deliberations*. But though there has been, in many instances, an apparent uniformity in the conduct of these two military bodies, yet there was an essential difference in the object of their institution and the nature of their services. The government of the Roman empire was constitutionally elective†, and the situation of the monarch was necessarily dependent. The Prætorian bands, who retained the same name as the general's guard of honour in the armies of the republic, were permanently established in the vicinity of Rome for the purpose of protecting the emperor, subduing faction, and over-

* See Series Imperat. Turc. in Turc. imp. statu ap. Elzevir. p. 275. See also p. 5, 230—233, 285. Knolles, v. i, p. 980, 983—985, and a quotation in Robertson, v. i, p. 475, from Nicolas Daulphinois who accompanied M. d'Aramon, ambassador from Henry the Second, of France, to Soliman, and who predicted, that the janizaries would one day become formidable to their masters, and act the same part at Constantinople as the Prætorian bands had done at Rome. (Collection of voyages from the Earl of Oxford's library, v. i, p. 599.)

† See Gibbon, v. i, p. 170.

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awing the senate and people*. But in the intoxication of uncontrolled power they assumed to themselves the exercise of rights which they were appointed to repress, and became the masters, instead of the guardians, of the person of the prince.—The prerogative of the sultans requires no external support: it is founded on the Mussulman religion, and is interwoven with the very existence of the Ottoman community. The order of janizaries was instituted, not for the purpose of maintaining the authority of the monarch over his natural subjects, but for extending his dominion over foreign nations†. Though, however, their establishment be not

* See Gibbon, v. i, p. 168.

† Dr. Robertson (v. i, p. 226) says, that "an armed force must surround the throne of every despot, to maintain his authority and to execute his commands." This maxim is, however, irreconcileable with the theory, as well as the practice, of the Ottoman government: for it may be observed in many passages of the Turkish history, that, whenever the authority of the sultans was wavering, they declared a foreign war, in order to have a pretence for removing the armed force from the seat of government, and for restoring the authority of the laws. It is also an assertion unwarranted by the Turkish historians (though Dr. Robertson quotes Cantemir in support of it), that Murad the First instituted the order of the janizaries "in order to form a body of troops *devoted to his will, that might serve as the immediate guards of his person and dignity.*"

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a necessary part of the system of Ottoman despotism, it has sometimes proved no less fatal in its consequences to the individual sovereign than that of the Prætorians. From their union under one command the janizaries became conscious of their strength, and from their station in the capital, during the intervals of foreign war, they acquired a preponderating influence in domestic broils*. They were, however, restrained by the presence of other bodies of regular troops, the cavalry, artillery-men, armourers, and marines, against whom they have sometimes been engaged even in open hostilities, on account of the contrariety of their views or the opposition of their interests. Either of these bodies can occasionally form a rallying point for the populace of Constantinople, which does not consist of enervated artisans, but of men professedly soldiers, who are used to arms, and are scarcely inferior to the regular troops, especially since the general neg-

* The janizaries may be compared with greater propriety to the legions, than to the Prætorian bands, of Rome; except that the main body of the janizaries, instead of being encamped, like the legions, on the frontiers of the empire, habitually reside in the capital, whence they are draughted to join the grand army on the opening of the campaign.

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lect of discipline*. The Ottoman nation constitutes one great military community, and is naturally adverse to the exercise, or the establishment, of military despotism. The janizaries cannot therefore, like the Prætorians, trample with impunity upon the constitution, usurp the sovereign prerogatives, and put up the empire to sale†. The sanction of law can alone justify their conduct in the eyes of the nation; and it is worthy of remark, that, in the midst of their excesses, they have always evinced a tender regard for

* M. de la Motraye relates (t. i, p. 353), that in a revolt of the janizaries and *spahis*, during the reign of Soliman the Second, the inhabitants of Constantinople remained quiet spectators as long as the insurgents continued to respect the property of individuals; but on their pillaging some of the merchants warehouses, the people assembled in arms, under the walls of the Seraglio, to the number of an hundred thousand men, who immediately quelled the revolt, and restored the cause of the sultan, which before seemed hopeless.

† Montesquieu very properly compares the power and functions of the Prætorian prefect, after the time of Severus, with those of the grand vizir, or generalissimo of the Ottoman forces, and not of the *janisar-aga*, or general of the corps of janizaries. (See Grandeur et décadence des Romains, chap. xvii.)—There exists, however, a strong analogy between the Prætorians and the Mameluke guards of the Egyptian sultans, whose power was founded only on force, and who, like the Roman emperors, had broken down every barrier between the sovereign and the army, by depriving the people of the use of arms, and the right of deliberating on the conduct of government.

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the curiously complicated frame of their political constitution*. The mischiefs which they have introduced have been partial in their effect, and temporary in their duration. They have never aimed at the subversion of principles, nor the abolition of institutions, which are sanctioned by the constitution; and instead of hastening the decline of the empire, it may be doubted whether they have not more frequently restored, than deranged, the order of government: neither have their domestic disturbances materially affected the general prosperity of the empire. Perhaps the only evil which has resulted from the seditions of the janizaries, is the licence which they have assumed of resisting the endeavours of government to restore discipline,

* The following observation on the conduct of the janizaries is extracted from the papers and despatches of Sir Thomas Roe, his Majesty's ambassador with the Grand Signor during the reigns of Mustafa and Osman. (See Knolles, v. i, p. 972.) "The mutineers having no head or direction, kept that relegement, that they took oath in their fury, in hot blood, in the king's yard, not to dishonour, spoil, nor sack the Imperial throne: neither committed nor suffered any insolency or violence in the city to the neutrals, but rather proclaimed peace and justice."—A striking instance of the fidelity of the insurgents to the constitution, and their refusal to violate the order of succession, is also recorded by Motraye, in t. i, p. 330.

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and to ameliorate the military system. They have sanctified even the errors of their ancestors. They reprobate the introduction of European tactics and resist the organization of new levies. They will neither adopt improvement, nor tolerate innovation; and if government be not awed by their indirect menaces into the abandonment of its measures, they revolt from their allegiance, and take up arms, in order to crush the institution in its infancy, which might endanger their supremacy in its more mature state.

Murad the Fourth. A. D. 1623—1640.

Murad the Fourth was but fourteen years old on his accession to the throne. The disorders which had originated from the feeble and impolitic administration of his predecessors, could not immediately be repressed by the authority of a child. The public treasury was empty*, the ordinary resources of the empire were exhausted, while the janizaries continued mutinous and insolent, and the provinces were in a state of declared rebellion. The Tartars refused to acknowledge the *khan* who had been nominated by

* Rycaut (v. ii, p. 2) says, that the porte demanded a loan of thirty thousand sequins from the four Christian ambassadors who were resident at Constantinople, "in order that they, as friends, might assist in the urgency of affairs."

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the porte. They defeated the sultan's troops, and expelled his garrison from Kaffa: nor did they return to their allegiance till he had signified his acquiescence in their choice *. In the mean time the Persian armies invaded the empire, and conquered or ravaged the frontier provinces from Arabia to the Euxine sea †. But that which exhibited in the strongest light the weakness to which the state was reduced in consequence of civil discord, was the expedition of the Cossaks, who fitted out an armament of a hundred and fifty boats on the Dnieper, and entering the Bosphorus, where not a single galley was left to oppose them, continued, during several days, to insult the capital of the Turkish empire, and to plunder the neighbouring villages, almost without molestation ‡. Murad,

* See Rycaut, v. ii, p. 3. Mignot, t. ii, p. 463—466, 468.

† "The Persian king divided his army into four parts. The first was dispatched into Mesopotamia, commanded by the king himself. The second made incursions into Palestine. The third infested the coast of the Black Sea, and the fourth marched towards Mecca, with hope and design of sharing all the parts of the Eastern empire." (Rycaut, v. ii, p. 6, 7.) See also Mignot, t. ii, p. 471.

‡ See Rycaut, v. ii, p. 4. Mignot, t. ii, p. 466. "To curb these insolencies, the Turks gave orders to build two forts at the mouth of the Black Sea: the Polish ambassador made complaint hereof, and protested against it, as an act contrary to the capitulations of peace." (Rycaut, t. ii, p. 11.)

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during a reign of seventeen years, revived the glory of the Ottoman name. The dilatory proceedings of his generals obliged him to take upon himself the command of his army and the conduct of the Persian war, which he terminated, after four campaigns, by forcing the Persians to cede the cities and territories which Shah Abbas the Great had wrested from the Ottoman empire *. His bravery and skill in war procured him the surname of *Gazi*, or the Conqueror †: but his most important victory was that which he obtained over his own subjects. He humbled the arrogance, and punished the outrages, of the janizaries, by exposing them, under every disadvantage of number and circumstance, to the armies of the Asiatic insurgents, and compelled them, after a series of disasters, to accede to terms of reconciliation with their avowed enemies, whose chief he received into favour and rewarded for his fidelity to the

* See Rycaut, v. ii, p. 28, 37, 45. "No other difficulty arose in the negociation for peace besides the dispute concerning Revan (*Erivan*), which at length was agreed to remain unto the Persian, as Bagdad was confirmed to the Turk." Cantemir (p. 249) says, that "this was the last overthrow of the Persians, since which they have not dared to be revenged, nor to lift up their heads against the Ottoman power."

† See Cantemir, p. 243.

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throne*. The character of his government was inflexible severity. Not only the superior officers of the state and army felt the weight of his displeasure, but even the subalterns and privates of the janizaries, who had been the boldest promoters of former seditions, could no longer skreen themselves from his resentment by the obscurity of their stations†. He exacted from all the public agents a strict observance of their duty‡. He tolerated no exemption from military service, but inexorably punished the disobedient soldiers, and confiscated the estates of the feudal militia who failed to appear at the general muster§. By his peremptory enforcement of military law he ensured the regular complement of his levies, and habituated his armies to that severe subordination which recalled victory to the Ottoman standards‖. At the beginning of his reign

* See Rycaut, v. ii, p. 10, 11, 12. Cantemir, p. 244, note 2.

† See Rycaut, v. ii, p. 12, 15, 19, 20, 23, 32, 48. Mignot, t. ii, p. 470, 486—490, 508. Cantemir (p. 250) mistakes the sultan's policy for wanton cruelty.

‡ See Rycaut, v. ii, p. 28.

§ See Rycaut, v. ii, p. 37. Mignot, t. ii, p. 497, t. iii, p. 16.

‖ See Rycaut, v. ii, p. 31. Mignot, t. iii, p. 21.

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his indignation had been excited against the standing army; but when he had subdued the haughtiness of the janizaries by rigour and discipline, he encouraged their obedience by his favour, and stimulated their enterprise by his example. He assisted at their public exercises, and contended with them in feats of strength or address. He marched at the head of their corps, dressed in the uniform of their order, made his saddle his pillow, endured suffering with patience, and encountered danger with intrepidity*. He sanctioned the severity of his government by subjecting even himself to its salutary discipline; and notwithstanding the occasional excesses of his intemperance, and the habitual ferocity of his character, his army served him with zeal and his subjects regarded him with veneration†.

* See Rycaut, v. ii, p. 31, 41. Cantemir, p. 251. Mignot, t. ii, p. 473, t. iii, p. 2, 24, 26.

† The character of this great sultan is to be collected rather from the events of his reign, than the partial judgment of his historians. Rycaut says, that "he was so bad that he had scarce any allay of virtue." Cantemir has collected from accounts which he acknowledges to be partly fabulous, some ridiculous and improbable anecdotes; and Voltaire (essai sur les mœurs, chap. cxci) erroneously asserts, that "in the opinion of the Turks he had no other merit than his valour."

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Ibrahim. A. D. 1640 —1648.

Ibrahim, the brother and successor of Murad, was the only surviving prince of the Ottoman family. He resigned himself to the indulgence of his appetites and the pleasures of the *harem**, while his ministers, encouraged by the success of their expedition against the Cossaks of the Don whom they expelled from the city of Azoff†, prepared a formidable armament under pretence of invading Malta and clearing the Mediterranean Sea from pirates. Venice, conscious of her comparative weakness, beheld the Turkish preparations with anxiety, and trembled for the safety of her insulated colonies: but the *divan* soothed the apprehensions of the senate by assurances of unshaken friendship,

* The Turkish and Christian historians agree in describing this prince to have been wholly addicted to luxury, and inactive in the administration of government. They relate, and probably with great exaggeration, many particulars of his conduct which are inconsistent with Turkish manners, and many which no person could have witnessed. I have passed them over, as wholly unworthy of history. The fact of Ibrahim's deposition is slightly noticed by Cantemir, it is also alluded to by D'Ohsson (Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 287), I must therefore admit it to be authentic, though the cause and circumstances of it, as related by Rycaut, are certainly fabulous.

† See Rycaut, v. ii, p. 52, 53. Cantemir, p. 252. Mignot, t. iii, p. 53, 55, 56.

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and honoured their ambāssador at the porte with every mark of courtesy *. The Turkish fleet even put into the island of Tino for water and refreshments, and the Ottoman admiral claimed from the inhabitants of Cerigo the customary present, in token of the amity which existed between the two governments †. The Venetians did not, however, wholly neglect to provide the means of defence, but they endeavoured, with their characteristic policy, to avoid indicating suspicions which might give umbrage to the porte, and provoke hostilities ‡. The Turkish fleet, in the meantime, entered the harbours of Candia, and disembarked an army of seventy-four thousand men, furnished with every necessary instrument of war and siege, who immediately invested and captured the cities of Canea and Retimo, and reduced the whole island in less than two years, with the single exception of Candia, the capital §.

Ibrahim was put to death by his subjects.

* See Rycaut, v. ii, p. 57, 58, 59. Cantemir, p. 252—254. Mignot, t. iii, p. 66—69.

† See Rycaut, v. ii, p. 60. Mignot, t. iii, p. 70, 71.

‡ See Rycaut, v. ii, p. 57, 60. Mignot, t. iii, p. 71.

§ See Rycaut, v. ii, p. 59, 61, 74. Cantemir, p. 254. Mignot, t. iii, p. 69, 72, 73.

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Mahomet the Fourth. A. D. 1648—1687.

Mahomet the Fourth succeeded to the throne of his father when he was only seven years old*. The early part of his reign was disturbed by the factions of his ministers and the mutinies of his soldiers, until the wise, though severe, administration of Kioprili Mehemed, and that of his son Ahmed, restored confidence to the nation, and infused vigour into the councils of government †.

A. D. 1657—1664.

The war of Transilvania, which was provoked by the disobedience of the *vaivoda* Ragotski, was terminated by his defeat and death. The Turks seized upon Great Varadin and a circuit of territory sufficient for the maintenance of the garrison, as a reimbursement for the expenses of the war; while the Transilvanians, who were irritated by this encroachment on their territories, deposed the *vaivoda* whom the porte had appointed, and conferred the principality on Kemeni, one of Ragotski's generals. Kemeni implored the protection of the emperor Leo-

* See Rycaut, v. ii, p. 81. Motraye, t. i, p. 346. Cantemir, p. 255. Mignot, t. iii, p. 98.

† See Rycaut, v. ii, p. 82, 84, 88, 104, 105, 112, 113. See also his Present state of the Ottoman empire, chap. iv. Motraye, t. i, p. 346, 347. Cantemir, p. 255, 256. Mignot, t. iii, p. 127, 131.

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pold, and admitted German garrisons into his principal fortresses, in the vain hope of confirming his authority and maintaining his elevation against the power of the Turks: but he was killed in a skirmish with the troops of the *pasha* of Buda, and Michael Abaffi, the vassal of the porte, was elected *vaivoda* by the states of Transilvania*. After a tacit suspension of hostilities between the Ottomans and the Austrians, and an interval of insidious negociations, the war was suddenly renewed by the irruption of the vizir into Hungary, who besieged and took Neuhausel, Neutra, Novigrad, Leventz, and Freystadt, while a detachment of his army entered Moravia and Austria, and intimidated the emperor into a removal from Vienna. The success of the Turks was counterbalanced in the ensuing year by the recapture of Neutra and Leventz, and by the defeat and slaughter of their bravest troops at the passage of St. Gothard on the Raab†.

* See Rycaut, v. ii, p. 105—111. Cantemir, p. 256.

† "While the hostile troops were preparing for the engagement, a young Turk, mounted on an Arabian courser, and covered with splendid habiliments, darted from the ranks, flourishing his scimitar, and in the spirit of ancient chivalry, defied the bravest of the Christians to single combat. He was opposed

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Both parties were, [illegible], induced, by motives of policy independent of the circumstances of the war, to concur in a truce for twenty years, by which it was stipulated, that Great Varadin and Neuhausel should remain to the porte in right of conquest, and Transilvania be confirmed to the vaivoda Abaffi*.

The reduction of the city of Candia continued to be an object of solicitude to the Ottoman cabinet. The maritime superiority of the Venetians had enabled them to convey regular succours to their own troops, while they obstructed the conveyance of supplies and reinforcements to the army of the besiegers†. But on the termination of the

by the chevalier de Loraine, who, in a few minutes, extended him lifeless on the earth, and led off his horse in triumph," (Coxe, v. i, p. 994.)

* See Coxe, chap. 62, also Rycaut, v. ii, p. 140—145, 149, 151—160, for the proceedings of the war in Hungary. Rycaut says, that the 600,000 dollars which Abaffi, by the fourth article of the treaty, was to pay to the Ottomans for the expenses of the war, were actually paid by the emperor, though the dishonour of it was covered with the name of Abaffi.

† See Rycaut, v. ii, p. 82, 84, 85, 86, 87, 89, 90, for the successive defeats of the Turkish fleet.—The Venetians took the islands of Tenedos and Lemnos, which were, however, retaken by the Turks in 1657. In the year 1659 the vizir built the lower forts which are situated at the entrance into the Dardanelles (p. 92).

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...an war, the vizir resolved to conduct ... the operations of the siege, and to ... the whole force of the empire in its ...nplishment. The Venetian garrison opposed bravery and skill to the assaults and the stratagems of the Turks, but were reduced to yield up the city by capitulation, after two years and four months, when they had exhausted all the military resources of the age in its defence*. A. D. 1669.

The evacuation of the island of Candia, and the adjustment of the dispute respecting the frontier in Dalmatia, removed all obstacles to a peace with Venice. The Ottomans now took up arms in the cause of the Cossaks of the Ukraine, who refused their homage to the crown of Poland, and solicited the protection of the porte. The result of the war was advantageous to the Turks: they obtained by force the posses- A. D. 1670—1679.

* For the history of the siege of Candia, see Rycaut, v. ii, p. 185—188, 193—220. Cantemir, p. 256—262. Mignot, t. iii, p. 213—216. 225—235.

Marsigli (part. ii, chap. xxiv) says, that during this war the Turks first learned the art, and adopted a new method, of carrying on sieges, by means of which they made themselves masters not only of the fortress of Candia, but of Neuhausel in Hungary and Kaminiec in Podolia; and were seduced by the experience of its efficacy to undertake the siege of Vienna.

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sion of Kaminiec*, and acquired by treaty the sovereignty over Podolia and the Ukraine †. But the Cossaks, a turbulent and versatile people, refused obedience to the porte, on the first exercise of its authority, and yielded themselves to Russia, by whose co-operation they defeated the armies and abolished the authority of the sultan ‡.

The antipathy of the Hungarians to the dominion of the house of Austria, involved the sovereign in continual disputes with the states of the kingdom. The nobility stickled for the privilege of electing the king and for the licence of the feudal constitution, while the emperors endeavoured to render the crown hereditary and to abolish the restrictions which were imposed on the exercise of their authority. Some of the principal nobles, who, under sanction of the constitution, formed an association in defence of their privileges, were convicted of rebellion and punished with death; but their public execution animated their countrymen to vindicate

* Cantemir says (p. 265), that "this was the last victory by which any advantage accrued to the Ottoman state," and the remark remains uncontradicted after the lapse of a century, except in the instance of the re-conquest of the Morea from the Venetians.

† See Cantemir, p. 284—286.

‡ See Cantemir, p. 287—295.

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their liberty and independence. Emeric Tekeli assumed the command of the insurgents, and was elected prince of Upper Hungary. His victories over the Imperial forces had so far established his power, that the porte was induced to acknowledge his title, and to declare war against Austria in support of his pretensions *.

Ahmed Kioprili, who inherited from his father the office of grand vizir and held it till his natural death, maintained the honour of the Ottoman arms rather by the successful issue of his negociations than by his military talents. But he left the forces, as well as the finances, of the empire unimpaired †.

* See Manley ap. Rycaut, v. ii, p. 277—282. Rycaut, v. ii, p. 15—94. Cantemir, p. 295—299. Coxe, v. i, p. 989—991, 1070—1075.

† See in Motraye, t. i, p 346—348, and in Cantemir, p. 256, note 3, the character of Ahmed Kioprili. He is called by the Turks the vicar of God's shadow, breaker of the bells of the blasphemous nations, the terrible leader, &c. &c. He was grand vizir from the age of thirty-three to fifty. He died, fortunately for his own reputation, in the year 1681, before the empire was overwhelmed by those evils which perhaps his prudence might have averted, but which the desultory energies of the Ottomans could never have resisted with success. Voltaire (essai sur les mœurs, chap. cxci) says, that he was one of the best generals in Europe, yet his conduct of the war in the Ukraine excited the contempt of Sobieski. (See Histoire de Pologne, t. i, p. 251. 8vo. Paris 1807.)

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His successor, Cara Mustafa, reviewed the army at Belgrade, which consisted of two hundred thousand fighting men*: he summoned a council of war to deliberate on the plan of the campaign, but he rejected the counsels of Tekeli and of his own officers, who advised the previous and total conquest of Hungary, and persisted in his determination to carry the war into Austria†. The Duke of Lorraine retreated before the Turks, and, after throwing a reinforcement into Vienna, encamped beyond the Danube, where he waited the arrival of succours from the king of Poland and the electors of Saxony and Bavaria‡. The grand vizir opened his
A. D. 1683. trenches before Vienna on the fourteenth of July, and prosecuted the siege till the twelfth of September, when the generals of the Christian army, which was now strengthened by the accession of all the auxiliaries, reconnoitred the positions of the enemy, and resolved to attack them. In the conduct of the siege, in the order of their camp and the

* See Manley ap. Rycaut, v. ii, p. 287. Rycaut, v. ii, p. 99.

† See Cantemir, p. 300—304.

‡ See Manley ap. Rycaut, v. ii, p. 289. Rycaut, v. ii, p. 100—103. Cantemir, p. 306.

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distribution of their forces, the Turks betrayed such ignorance of the science and the practice of war as removed at once whatever apprehensions had been excited by their superiority in number. The allied army descended from the mountains, and formed in order of battle as they reached the plain. The Turks fought in disorder, and, after a short and partial resistance, abandoned their camp, together with their artillery, their baggage and magazines *. They fled with such precipitation, that, on the following day, they crossed the bridges of the Raab, which is at the distance of fifty-five miles from Vienna, where the wreck of the Ottoman army encamped round the single tent which had been preserved with difficulty for the accommodation of the vizir †.

* For the operations during the siege of Vienna, see Manley ap. Rycaut, v. ii, p. 289—302. Rycaut, v. ii, p. 103—120. Cantemir, p. 304—311. Mignot, t. iii, p. 326—341. Histoire de Pologne, t. i, p. 273—280. See also Marsigli, t. ii, p. 75, 84, 119—122.

† See Cantemir, p. 310. Marsigli, who had been taken prisoner by the Turks, was carried away with them on their retreat. They lost sight of Vienna about an hour before sunset, and continuing their march by moon-light, arrived at day-break at the river Leyta, which they crossed, but did not stop, till they passed the Raab in the afternoon. (Stato militare, t. ii, p. 121.)

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The emperor Leopold, who was wisely diffident of his military talents, left the ostensible command of the army to his ally the king of Poland, to whom the citizens of Vienna decreed the honours of the triumph*. The heroism of John Sobieski and the gallantry of the Polish troops justly entitled them to the gratitude of Christendom: But the merit of this celebrated victory must be ascribed principally to the judgment and experience of the Imperial general, and to the steady valour of the German regiments; for the Poles were neither habituated to subordination, familiarized with tactics, nor instructed in military science †: while the war of thirty years, in which almost all the Continental nations were engaged, had introduced and established those improvements in

* See Mignot, t. iii, p. 348. Histoire de Pologne, t. i, p. 280. Coxe, v. i, p. 1079.

† See in Voltaire, histoire de Charles xii, liv. ii, a description of the military force of Poland, which, in the year 1710, consisted of 100,000 cavalry "without discipline, subordination and experience," and 48,000 infantry, ill-armed and half-naked, without regular pay or uniform. "Toutes ces troupes étoient braves sans doute, mais tellement indisciplinées que, malgré l'autorité du grand général de la couronne, de leurs autres chefs, et celle du roi même, ils firent trop souvent autant de mal à leur propre patrie qu' à ses ennemis." (Histoire de Pologne, t. i, p. 16.)

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the art of destruction which, during the seventeenth century, gave to Germany a succession of soldiers and generals who may vie with the heroes of Macedon and Rome in bravery, in discipline, and skill*. The

* The Poles indeed assumed to themselves the greatest share of the victory at Vienna, and, in consequence of it, claimed the right of marching in the van of the army; but they proceeded without order or caution, till they fell in, near Gran, with a body of 6000 Turkish horse and 2000 janizaries, whom they inconsiderately rushed forward to attack: when, however, the Turks perceived, that they acted without the Germans, they halted; and not only repulsed, but surrounded and would have cut them to pieces, if the Duke of Lorraine had not arrived with some German regiments to their relief. (See Rycaut, t. ii, p. 125, 126. Cantemir, p. 311, 312. Mignot, t. iii, p. 348, 349.) Mr. Coxe says (v. i, p. 1080), that, "on the following day, the *ardour* of the *Polish hero* being tempered by the *phlegm* of the *German chief*, they wiped off their temporary disgrace by a complete defeat of the enemy." The Turks, however, had already so tempered the ardour of the Polish troops that, on the very night of their defeat, they were desirous of yielding the right wing (which was nearest to the enemy) to the Germans, and on the morrow were hardly prevailed upon to make trial of another engagement, and that not till they had changed their station (the post of honour), and mixed their troops with those of the Imperialists. "Fortune seemed favourable to them abroad," says Rycaut, "whilst they were directed by the auspicious conduct of the Duke of Lorraine, and other the greatest captains in the world; but being left to themselves, we shall hear of no great achievements. The Turks made only weak preparations against them, and left them to the *Tartars*, who proved a sufficient match for their neighbours, the Poles." History of the Turks, v. ii, p. 192. See also Cantemir, p. 320, 325, 334, 335, 336.

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Turks, with the exception of an expedition against Poland in the year 1621, which was altogether unimportant in its result, had consumed this season in bloody, but uninstructive, hostilities with the nations of the East*. Their enemies immediately perceived, and availed themselves of, the superiority which they had acquired. The flight of the Turks from Vienna, and their subsequent defeats, unveiled their weakness to the world, and encouraged the republic of Venice and the czar of Muscovy to enter into the confederacy against them, and to assist the operations of the war in Hungary by invading the maritime provinces of Greece, and by diverting the forces of the Tartars†.

The Turks were routed and cut to pieces in every battle: their strongest fortresses were surrendered, and Buda was taken by

* Voltaire (essai sur les mœurs, chap. cxci) observes, that if the Turks had been left at leisure by the Persians during the thirty years war when Germany was ravaged by the French and Swedes (A. D. 1620—1648), that country would have lost the glory of having never been entirely subdued. It is perhaps a consideration of still greater importance, that, from the same cause, the Turks were prevented from keeping pace with the Christians in the gradual improvement of the art of war.

† See Rycaut, v. ii, p. 136, 196. Cantemir, p. 317, 331. Mignot, t. iii, p. 360.

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storm *. In the fourth year of the war the Germans had driven them and their auxiliaries from Hungary, Transilvania, and Sclavonia; while the Venetians, besides possessing themselves of several places in Dalmatia and Albania, had conquered the whole of the Morea †. The energies of the Ottomans sunk under such accumulated misfortunes; and though their native valour remained unimpaired, the incapacity of their generals was so obvious, even to the private soldiers,

* Rycaut, p. 217, says, that "Prince Eugene of Savoy, who served at the siege of Buda, was deaf to the cries of the conquered; for hearing that the town was entered, and unwilling to lose any part of the glory, or that his sword should appear dry and not coloured with the blood of his enemies, at the end of the action, forsook his post and let loose his soldiers, crying out to give no quarter to the janizaries." M. Rousset, in his military history of Prince Eugene, observes, on the contrary, "How worthy of admiration was it to see an officer but twenty-three years old, that is, at an age when men are all fire and impetuosity, cry out like Cæsar in the midst of victory, parce civibus; and carry his esteem for valour so far as to respect it in his enemies." Certain, however, it is, that the conquered Turks, throughout the whole of this war, expiated, under the sword of the Christians, the cruelties of which their ancestors have been accused. "It was grievous," says Rycaut, p. 312, "to see poor old men made prisoners, dragged by their beards; and women, covered with blood and dirt, drawn by the hairs of the head, and made the sport and pastime of military insolence."

† See Rycaut, v. ii, p. 250, 263, 264, 270, 313—327. Cantemir, p. 339, 340, 341. Coxe, v. i, p. 1061—1065.

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as to promote a spirit of insubordination which rendered their measures ineffectual. The army, after sustaining a signal defeat on the plains of Mohatz, fled towards Belgrade, and on reaching a place of safety, immediately revolted against their commanders. The vizir escaped from the camp and fled for protection to the sultan, who excited a general insurrection of the Turkish populace by endeavouring to screen his minister from their resentment *. He was deposed by his subjects on the ground of his having brought down the anger of heaven upon the nation by the perverseness of his councils and the sins of his government †.

Soliman the Second. A. D. 1687—1689.

His brother Soliman who succeeded to him, was insensible almost to stupidity, though eminent for the austerity of his life and the fervour of his devotion ‡. The public mind

* See Rycaut, v. ii, p. 251—256. Cantemir, 341—349. Motraye, t. i, p. 349, 350, 351.

† See Rycaut, v. ii, p. 221, 222. Cantemir, p. 337, 346—349.

‡ See Cantemir, p. 375. Rycaut, v. ii, p. 293. "His deposed brother, Sultan Mahomet, who had always used much exercise, began, by an unaccustomed confinement, to be tainted with the scurvy; his legs swelled and gave symptoms of the dropsy. Wherefore he sent to his brother, the present sultan, desiring that some physicians might be permitted to come to him for his cure. But grave Soliman returned him answer, that in

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was depressed by a succession of disasters: the people confidently hoped, that the prayers of the sultan would avert the evils which threatened the empire with ruin; and they libelled his administration when they discovered their mistake *. The Germans pursued their career of victory; took Belgrade by assault, and penetrated into Bosnia, Servia, and Bulgaria †. Soliman humbled himself so far as to send ambassadors to Vienna to sue for peace, but his proposals were rejected with disdain, or answered with arrogance ‡. In the mean time the king of France made a diversion in his favour by invading the palatinate and engaging Germany in war, which not only interrupted the ambitious projects of the emperor, but favoured the A. D. 1689.

ease he should allow that, and he miscarry, the world would say that he was an occasion of his death; so that in lieu of the physicians he would pray to God for him, and he who sent the sickness could give him a cure." (Rycaut, v. ii, p. 261.)

* See Cantemir, p. 355. Mignot, t. ii, p. 411. The people, on their part, abstained from the use of wine and from innocent indulgences: but they did not discover, from the inefficacy of all these means, that the promises of heaven, even in a good cause, are exclusively contingent on the exercise of wisdom and courage.

† See Rycaut, v. ii, p. 303. Cantemir, p. 359, 362.

‡ See Cantemir, p. 355—357, 359, 360. Rycaut, v. ii, p. 292, 309, 312, 319, 329, 347, 353, 354. Mignot, t. iii, p. 410.

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efforts of the grand vizir, who restored a transient lustre to the Ottoman arms by the recovery of Nissa, Viddin, and Belgrade, and reanimated the nation by his wise and vigorous measures *.

Ahmed the Second. A. D. 1690—1694.

Ahmed, the youngest son of the family of Sultan Ibrahim, succeeded to Soliman, whom he resembled in the mediocrity of his talents and in his zeal for religion †; the events of his reign corresponded with the feebleness of his government, and excited even the contempt of his enemies.

Mustafa the Second. A. D. 1695—1703.

Mustafa censured the inactivity of his father and his uncles, and took upon himself the conduct of the Hungarian war; but he was no less deficient than his predecessors in those talents and acquirements which were

* See Rycaut, v. ii, p. 314, 316, 378, 382, 383. Cantemir, p. 360, 369—375. Mustafa Pashawas the third grand vizir of the illustrious house of Kioprili: he was slain in the battle of Salankanen in 1691. According to Marsigli (t. i, p. 28) he used to say, that all the sultans since Soliman the First, were fools or tyrants, that it was time to abolish the Ottoman race, and *to substitute another, which*, says Marsigli very unintelligibly, *is not less foolish in the conduct of civil and military affairs.*

† Rycaut (v. ii, p. 398) says, that Ahmed was lively, free, and jocund in his humour; that he was both a poet and a musician, made verses and sang them." Cantemir says (p. 380), that he knew not how to return any other answer to what was proposed to him but *khosh, khosh*, good, good.

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now become essential to the success of military operations. He witnessed, from the opposite bank of the river Theis, the defeat and the slaughter of his army at Zenta*: and in a general congress of the belligerents, which was held at Carlovitz under the mediation of England and Holland, he afterwards confirmed the degradation of the Ottoman power by relinquishing Transilvania and al-

* See an account of the battle of Zenta in the military history of Prince Eugene, p. 29—42. See also in Marsigli's stato militare, cap. xxiii, t. ii, p. 119—131, an account of the principal military operations during the war of Hungary, which concludes with the following observation :—" Da tutta questa enumerazione di fatti d'arme seguiti fra l'esercito Cesareo, ed Ottomanno molte volte comandato dall' istesso sultano, si è sempre veduta una grandissima confusione per mettersi in battaglia, un modo precipitoso, ed inordinato di attacare i Christiani, e non altra ritirata, che di una fuga infame.—In fine felice quel generale, che comandarà ad un esercito Cesareo anche la metà meno numeroso di quel de' Turchi, perche con la di lui fermezza, ed ordine, e di piu coll' abituazione fatta a quelli urli, ed a quell' aspetto per altro fiero di quelli attacchi conciabola alla mano, sarà sicuro delle vittorie attesa l'impossibilità nè Turchi di guadagnare mai una."

In ascribing the superiority which the Germans acquired over the Turks to the methodical process of their operations, and the mechanical precision of their manœuvres, I am not unaware, that military genius may be cramped by a strict adherence to the formalities of service and the rules of art; and that intellect which has been improved by science and experience, is alone equal to combine and to direct the exertions of an army, so as to meet every possible emergency of war.

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most the whole of Hungary and Sclavonia to the emperor, the Morea and some places in Dalmatia to the republic of Venice, Podolia and the fortress of Kaminiec to the Poles, and
A. D. 1698. Azoff to the Russians *.

A peace purchased with loss and dishonour, though it rescued the European portion of the empire from imminent destruction, brought no pledge of future safety, but rather inflamed the ambition, while it excited the contempt of the neighbouring potentates †. The Ottoman cabinet prudently adopted a system of moderation, from a conviction that they must fail in any attempt to recover the ceded provinces by a

* See in Rycaut, v. ii, p. 567—602, the treaties of peace made with the Germans, the Russians, the Poles, and the Venetians. See also Cantemir, p. 427.

† The Polish ambassador made his public entry into Constantinople in April, 1700, and was escorted by 600 soldiers, many of whom wore coats of mail which had been stripped from the bodies of the *spahis* who were killed at the battle of Vienna. The ambassador and his suite were lodged in a palace which looked upon the Hippodrome; and, as a further insult to the Turks, either they, or the servants of the German ambassador, broke off and conveyed away, during a dark night in the month of June, the two remaining heads of the brazen serpentine monument, which the Christians imagined to be considered by the Turks as a talisman on which the safety of their metropolis depended. (See Motraye, t. i, p. 278).

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renewal of the war *. But the populace were no sooner relieved from the apprehension of immediate danger, than they were exasperated by the feeling of national disgrace, which was incensed into sedition, and led to the dethronement of the sultan †.

Ahmed the Third. A.D. 1703—1730.

The conduct of the czar excited the first alarm. Peter Alexiovitz had abolished the antiquated institutions of his country, had introduced discipline and order into his armies, and assimilated his general government to that which prevailed among the states of Christendom. Scarcely had he ratified the treaty of Carlovitz when he infringed its implied conditions by building

* See Cantemir, p. 429, sec. xcvi. The new vizir Dal. taban Mustafa was put to death by order of the sultan on an accusation, that he wished to excite the soldiers to demand the rupture of the peace. (See p. 431, sec. cvii, cviii.) Count Tekeli was banished to Nicomedia because, at the instigation of the French ambassador, he had suggested to the porte the possibility of recovering Hungary while the emperor was engaged with the French in the war for the Spanish succession. (See Motraye, t. i, p. 281, 282.) Even the insurrection which was actually excited in Hungary by Prince Ragotski, could not seduce the porte into a deviation from its system of neutrality. (See Motraye, t. i, p. 378. Coxe, v. i, p. 1139—1142, 1149, 1245—1250).

† For the origin and progress of the rebellion against Sultan Mustafa, see Cantemir, p. 428, 432—438. Motraye, t. i, p. 323—334.

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forts along the Don and the Dnieper for the purpose of annoying, rather than of restraining, the Tartars; and he announced a spirit of systematic hostility against the Ottoman power by fitting out a fleet of gallies on the sea of Azoff, and thus aspiring to the dominion of the Black Sea *. Though the Turks observed with anxiety his continual encroachments both in Poland and on their own frontiers, yet they dissembled their fears and stifled their resentment, till at length they were precipitated into hostilities by the remonstrances of the Tartar *khan*, and of the king of Sweden, who, after the battle of Pultowa, had escaped into the dominions of the sultan, where he continued, during three years and a half, to perplex the Ottoman councils by his presence, and by his intrigues †. The Russian army was commanded by the czar in person, who, however, acted ostensibly only as the lieutenant of General Czeremetoff. He advanced in-

* See Cantemir, p. 428, 429. Motraye, in the year 1699, observed the surprise and alarm which were occasioned at Constantinople by the arrival of the Russian envoy in a ship of war from Azoff.

† See Voltaire, hist. de Charles xii, liv. 5. Motraye, t. i, p. 414—422, t. ii, p. 1—3. Cantemir, p. 448—451. Coxe, v. ii, p. 60.

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cautiously into Moldavia, where, after suffering severe losses, as well from the want of food and forage as from incessant skirmishes with the Tartars, he was surrounded, in an angle formed by the river Pruth, by the whole force of the Ottomans, and was saved from destruction, which seemed inevitable, only by the fortitude and the address of the czarina. The object of the war on the part of the Turks was to restore security to their northern frontier; and when the vizir had obtained the removal of establishments which gave umbrage or jealousy to the porte, he became indifferent to the interests or the animosities of the king of Sweden. He allowed the czar to purchase provisions for his army and to retreat unmolested to his dominions, on his engaging to evacuate Poland and to yield up Azoff, besides destroying his fleet and demolishing his fortresses on the confines of Tartary*. A.D. 1711.

Among the stipulations of the treaty of Carlovitz, that which most severely wounded the pride of the Ottomans, was the cession of territory to so inconsiderable a power

* See Motraye, t. ii, p. 17—21, 23—28. Cantemir, p. 452, 453. Coxe, v. ii, p. 164.

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as the state of Venice, which was unable even to support the defence of its conquests *. The Turks were allured to attempt the recovery of the Morea, at a time when the forces and finances of the Austrians seemed to be so exhausted by the war in Flanders, which they had just concluded by the peace of Radstadt, as to prevent the active interference of the emperor in behalf of his late confederates. They concealed their design till they were prepared for the execution, when they over-ran the peninsula, and reduced the Venetian garrisons, in a short campaign †.

Contrary to the expectation of the porte the emperor determined upon war, to which he was prompted no less by considerations of interest, than by motives of honour and resentment. He recruited his armies, of which he gave the command to Prince Eu-

* The Turkish plenipotentiary at the congress of Carlovitz, in an apologue which he adapted to the occasion, compared the conduct of the Venetian republic to that of a thief, who, while two wrestlers were engaged together, came upon them unobserved and contrived to carry away their clothes. "But," added he, "an opportunity may come when the republic shall find what difference there is between a lion and a fox." (See Cantemir, p. 426, note 35.)

† See Marsigli, t. ii, p. 198. Mignot, t. iv, p. 202—210.

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gene, who confirmed the ascendancy of science and discipline by his brilliant and decisive victories at Petervaradin and Belgrade *, which again forced the Ottomans to solicit peace through the mediation of England and Holland. The conferences were opened at Passarovitz, where the emperor, though he had taken up arms professedly in the cause of the Venetians, admitted as the basis of the treaty of peace, that the belligerents should respectively retain possession of their conquests. Thus the dominion of the porte was again established over the whole of continental Greece, in exchange for the bannat of Temeswar and the territory and fortress of Belgrade, which were re-annexed to the kingdom of Hungary †.

* For the battles of Petervaradin and Belgrade see the military history of Prince Eugene of Savoy, p. 110—134.

The loss of the battle of Petervaradin, in which the vizir was killed, led to the surrender of Temeswar and its dependencies, as that before Belgrade immediately occasioned the garrison to capitulate. "The garrison, by virtue of the third article of the capitulation, might have marched out in rank and file, drums beating, and colours flying, but they did not value such punctilios. The soldiers were for the most part married, and they bent their thoughts much more on securing their families and their effects, than on marching out in parade."

† See Mignot, t. iv, p. 239—242. Coxe, v. i, p. 33.

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A. D. 1718. The Persian monarchy, which had been gradually declining since the death of Abbas the Great, was, at length, subverted by the Afghan Tartars, who rebelled against Shah Hussein, the last independent sovereign of the house of Sefi. Mahmúd, their general, usurped the regal power, and by a series of assassinations, proscriptions, and civil wars, plunged this once flourishing kingdom into
A. D. 1722. the deepest misery *.

Tahmasp, one of the sons of Hussein, escaped, during the siege of Ispahan, to Tauris, and adopted, in the desperate situation of his affairs, the dangerous expedient of imploring military succour from the Russians and the Turks. The Afghans were Mussulmans of the Sunnite sect; and the porte was restrained by the religious prejudices of the Ottoman people from opposing even the usurpation of true believers over a nation of heretics: but the czar of Russia undertook to drive out the rebels, in return for which he was to hold the cities of Derbent and Baku, and some of the northern pro-

* See Voltaire, chap. cxciii. Mignot, t. iv, p. 255—386. Modern Universal History, v. vi, chap. viii. Histoire de Nader Chah, introduction, sect. i—vi.

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vinces*. The distracted state of the Persian government did not, however, fail to excite the ambition and the cupidity of the sultan, who poured his troops into Georgia and Armenia, of which he endeavoured to secure the possession by the conquest of the principal cities †; yet even these acquisitions did not allay the dissatisfaction which was occasioned by the settlement of the Russians in the adjoining territory. The porte protested against the alienation of dominion by a prince so precariously situated as Tahmasp, but was prevented from declaring war against Russia by the mediation of the French ambassador, who even prevailed upon the cabinets of Constantinople and St. Petersburg to concur in a treaty for the partition of Persia, and the re-establishment of the house of Sefi over the remnant of the monarchy ‡. The contracting parties evinced fidelity to their engagements by extending their conquests as far as the limits which they had assigned to themselves; but

* See Modern Universal Hist. v. vi, p. 73. Hist. de Nader Chah, intr. sec. vii.

† See Modern Universal Hist. v. vi, p. 84. Hist. de Nader Chah, intr. sec. viii.

‡ See Modern Universal Hist. v. vi, p. 77.

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the Ottoman soldiery were averse from carrying the war into the dominion of a sovereign who was orthodox in his profession of faith, and, in compliance with their wishes, the sultan consented to a peace with Ashraf, successor of the usurper Mahmud, on the condition, that he should confirm the principal conquests of the Ottomans, and acknowledge the *imameth*, or his spiritual supremacy *. Persia was rescued both from the Afghans and the Ottomans by a Turcman shepherd, named Nader, whose great and successful exploits, in defeating the rebels and reducing the revolted provinces, procured for him from the gratitude of the *shah* the title of Tahmasp Culi Khan, and extorted from his weakness the virtual exercise of the sovereign power †. Nader displayed the talents of an able minister and an experienced general in the administration of the government and the conduct of war. He sent an embassy to Constantinople to reclaim the sovereignty of the Persian provinces which were occupied by the Turks, and on the refusal of Ahmed to restore them,

A. D. 1727.

* See Modern Universal Hist. v. vi, p. 85. Hist. de Nader Chah, intr. sec. ix.

† See Modern Universal Hist. v. vi, p. 85—87. Hist. de Nader Chah, p. 53, 60, 63, 64—66.

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he began the war anew by expelling the Ottoman forces from Tauris and the province of Aderbigian*. Ahmed was dethroned by the populace of Constantinople, while he was collecting an army to oppose the progress of the Persians†. The leaders of the insurgents were intoxicated with their success, and continued to harass the reign of Sultan Mahmud, his successor, till they were successively ensnared by his policy and punished with death‡. Mahmud obtained peace from the *shah* by resigning the conquests which the Ottomans had made beyond the Aras, but Nader disavowed a treaty which left Armenia and Georgia to the porte§. He even deposed the *shah*, his master, whose infant son he raised to the throne, though only as preparatory to his own elevation‖; he made a treaty with the czarina, by which he regained possession of the provinces which had formerly been ceded to

Mahmud. A. D. 1730—1754.

* See Hist. de Nader Chah, p. 108, 111, 151, and chap xiii.

† See Mignot, t. iv, p. 319—341. Hist. de Nader Chah, p. 120.

‡ See Mignot, t. iv, p. 342—354.

§ See Modern Universal Hist. v. vi, p. 90, 91. Hist. de Nader Chah, chap. xxiv.

‖ See Modern Universal Hist. v. vi, p. 91—93. Hist. de Nader Chah, liv. iii, chap. i.

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Russia*, he then resumed the war against the Turks, and prosecuted it with so much vigour and success that, of all the conquests of their ancestors, he left them at the peace
A. D. 1737. only the city and territory of Bagdad †.

Peace with Persia had probably been accelerated by the menacing attitude of Russia, for it was scarcely concluded before the czarina declared war against the Turks, on the alleged pretence of their having thwarted the designs of Peter the First against Persia, and having encouraged, or at least permitted, the inroads of the Tartars into the Ukraine. The publication of her manifesto was followed by the siege and capture of Azoff, and the invasion of the Crimea by a formidable Russian army ‡.

The Turks, though provoked by the aggression, were unwilling to enter into war, and even sought to prevent it by recurring to the mediation of the emperor of Germany. But the cabinet of Vienna was actuated by the same avidity of extending its dominion

* See Modern Universal Hist. v. vi, p. 92. Mignot, t. iv, p. 371, 386. Hist. de Nader Chah, p. 157. Tooke's View of the Russian Empire, v. ii, p. 447.

† See Modern Universal Hist. v. vi, p. 95. Hist. de Nader Chah, liv, v. chap. ii. Mignot, t. iv, p. 386.

‡ See Mignot, t. iv, p. 387, 388. Coxe, v. ii, p. 164.

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as that of St. Petersburg. The emperor yielded to the solicitation, for the sake of abusing the confidence, of the porte, and even carried his perfidy so far as to appoint a congress, which was held at Nimerova, a town on the confines of Poland, while he marched his forces towards the frontiers of Turkey, and watched the opportunity of announcing, by actual hostilities, his co-operation in the schemes of conquest which he had projected jointly with the czarina*.

Russia demanded the surrender of the extensive wastes which encompass the Crimea and are bounded by the Dniester and Cuban rivers, while the emperor claimed as the price of his good offices the cession of Bosnia, Wallachia, and Moldavia†.

The finances, as well as the forces, of the emperor Charles the Sixth were considerably diminished by the war in which he had been engaged against France, Spain, and Sardinia, which was only just terminated‡: but the

* See Mignot, t. iv, p. 389—395. Coxe, v. ii, p. 164, 1

† See Coxe, v. ii, p. 198.

‡ The preliminaries were signed at Vienna on the third of October, 1735, but the signature of the definitive treaty of peace was protracted till the eighth of November 1738.

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hope of wresting from Turkey an equivalent for his recent losses in Italy, stifled the suggestions of prudence, and rendered him regardless of the deficiency of his means for supporting the contest. His army in Hungary was thinned by disease and desertion, and according to the report of the commander who was sent to conduct the war, had been deprived by venality and peculation of every thing necessary to make it efficient. A circumstance, however, which argued a more radical defect in the system of the Imperial government, was, that many of the generals themselves, notwithstanding the continuity of war in which the empire had been engaged, were found to be incapable of fulfilling the duties of their station*. These evils, and the consequent disasters were ascribed to the injudicious interference of the council of war at Vienna, which was invested with the authority of regulating and controlling the military proceedings, though it was incapable of wise deliberation or prompt decision, on account of the want of knowledge and even of union among its members. The council, at the very opening of the campaign, counter-

* See Coxe, v. ii, p. 166, 167.

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manded the plan of operations which had been concerted with the allies, and in consequence of its feeble measures and contradictory orders the Imperialists were uniformly unsuccessful in the conduct of the war, while the Turks derived encouragement from the faults of their enemies, and opposed firmness and vigour to their indecision and imbecility. They resumed the spirit as well as the prowess of their ancestors, and again conceived hopes of conquering Belgrade and extending their empire over the kingdom of Hungary *.

The Russians were indeed successful in capturing Oczacow and Kilburn, but in the second year of the war their flotilla on the sea of Azoff was blockaded by a Turkish squadron, and was burned to prevent its falling into their power, while their armies were forced to evacuate the Crimea and were harassed by the Tartars on their retreat †. The Austrians opened the war by marching with their main body to Nissa, a fortress at the extremity of Servia, but their army was wasted in the expedition

* See Mignot, t. iv, p. 397. Coxe, v. ii, p. 169 note.
† See Mignot, t. iv, p. 400, 401.

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by want and disease; they were forced to surrender Nissa almost immediately after occupying it, to raise the siege of Viddin, and finally to evacuate both Servia and Wallachia. The Ottomans, notwithstanding a defeat which they sustained at the beginning of the second campaign, took Orsova, and drove the Imperialists before them beyond Belgrade, which they invested and besieged in form. Their triumph was complete, for the German commander answered the summons of the vizir by a proposal to make the surrender of the fortress one of the conditions of peace between the two empires *. The court of Vienna partook of the despondency of the army, and despatched an agent to the camp of the Ottomans with full powers to conclude a peace through the mediation of the French ambassador at the porte; a skilful, but insidious negociator, who availed himself of the successive errors of the Austrian plenipotentiary to obtain for the Ottomans the cession of the whole or Servia, in which Belgrade is situated, together with the island and fortress of Or

* See Coxe, v. ii, p. 170—173, 177—179, 185—188.

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sova, and that part of Wallachia which borders on the bannat of Temeswar*.

The czarina also was compelled by the secession of the emperor to concur in the treaty of Belgrade. The motive which had principally induced her to enter upon the war, was to efface the remembrance of the failure of Peter the First's expedition. She was therefore satisfied with having retrieved the military character of her nation, and stipulated without difficulty to restore Oczacow, to demolish the fortress, and abandon the territory, of Azoff, and to waive the privilege of navigating the Black Sea even for the purposes of commerce†. The achievements of her armies left however on the minds of the Ottomans so strong an impression of terror, that Sultan Mahmud did not even dare to show resentment at the open and continued infringement of the conditions of the treaty; and though Osman, his successor, remonstrated with some degree of firmness, he was easily prevailed upon to avoid a renewal of hostilities by accepting

A. D. 1769.

Osman the Third. A. D. 1754—1757.

* See Mignot, t. iv, p. 411—433. Coxe, v. ii, p. 188—201.

† See Sir James Porter, Observations on the religion, law, government, and manners of the Turks, p. 250. Mignot, t. iv, p. 433—441. Coxe, v. ii, p. 197.

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the mediation of the English ambassador*.

Mustafa the Third. A. D. 1757—1774.

Catherine the Second was scarcely seated on the throne of Russia before she developed to an alarming extent the schemes of ambition which her predecessors had planned. Throughout the whole of her reign she directed the measures of her government to the subversion of the Polish republic, and to the expulsion of the Ottomans from Europe.

Poland, owing to the vices of her constitution, and the disorders of her government, had already fallen from the high rank which she formerly held among the powers of the North. Every spark of disinterested patriotism was extinguished among the nobles, who were divided into factions which impeded the public business and frustrated the most salutary plans, while they became subservient to the ambitious views of foreign potentates, whom they assisted in subverting their national independence †.

The predominance which Russia affected among the states of Europe and actually

* See Observations on the religion, &c. of the Turks, p. 250—254.

† See Coxe, v. ii, p. 492.

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acquired in Poland, enabled the empress, on the death of Augustus the Third, to effect the exclusion of the house of Saxony from the sovereignty of the republic, and to secure the election for her favourite Count Poniatowski, who was crowned king of Poland under the name of Stanislaus Augustus*. In the meantime, notwithstanding her professions of regard for the rights and privileges of the Polish nation, she studiously fomented the internal disorders, which she converted into a pretext for over-running the provinces with her troops, and even for establishing a garrison in the neighbourhood of Warsaw †.

The predominant religion of Poland was that of the church of Rome, and the Catholics, by an abuse of power which seems inherent in every religious society, had enacted laws to exclude their countrymen, who adhered to the Greek or Protestant communions, from sitting in the national diet and from exercising public employment ‡.

* See Coxe, v. ii, p. 494. Histoire de Pologne, t. ii, chap. 17. Life of Catherine the Second, v. ii, p. 1—5.

† See Histoire de Pologne, t. ii, p. 103—105. Life of Catherine the Second, v. ii, p. 22, 23.

‡ See Coxe, v. ii, p. 496. The act for excluding the dissidents from the diet was passed in the year 1733.

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D. 1767. At the instigation of the agents of Russia the dissidents, who confederated together under protection of the empress *, petitioned for the repeal of the disqualifying laws, and for the re-establishment of their civil rights. England, Prussia, and Denmark, in quality of guarantees of the treaty of peace of Oliva, seconded the remonstrances of Russia †, and urged the diet by their ambassadors to yield to the demands of the dissidents ‡. Passion and prejudice

* Catherine the Second was the first of the Russian sovereigns whose imperial title was acknowledged by all the powers of Europe.

† It does not appear, that Mr. Coxe is correct in enumerating Russia among the mediating powers who guarantied the treaty of Oliva in the year 1660. The empress herself, in her declaration in behalf of the dissidents, appeals to a treaty made in 1686 for her right of interference.

‡ Mr. Wroughton, the British Minister at Warsaw, delivered a declaration on the part of his Majesty "in favour of that oppressed part of the Polish nation, known by the name of dissidents;" in which he forcibly pointed out "the injustice and the impolicy of excluding the professors of Christian doctrines from honourable employments and from the means of serving their country;" and expressed the confident expectation of his Majesty, "that the wisdom of the nation assembled would consider the cause of the virtuous but unhappy dissidents as closely connected with the fundamental interests of the republic, and by re-establishing them in the possession of their rights and privileges, would provide a remedy for the evils which distracted the state."

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perhaps instigated the members of the diet to refuse justice in the first instance to their fellow-citizens, but reason and policy afterwards excited them to oppose so flagrant a violation of public law as the interference of foreign powers in behalf of factious subjects, however legitimate might be the motive of their discontent.

The danger of their common country roused the Polish nobility to assert their independence, but the opposition of the diet was rendered ineffectual by the arbitrary proceedings of Repnin, the Russian ambassador, who, relying on the security which he derived from the proximity of an imposing body of Russian troops, usurped an authority beyond that which the sovereign dared to exert, by seizing the most obnoxious members, and sending them into Siberia*. The impunity with which he committed, and the arrogance with which he defended, this act of unprecedented violence, humbled the spirit of the assembly, and showed to the Polish people the extent of their disgrace and wretchedness. The diet crouched in abject servility to the power which they

* See Coxe, v. ii, p. 496. Life of Catherine the Second, v. ii, p. 24—26. Histoire de Pologne, t. ii, p. 186—189.

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were no longer able to resist: they appointed a committee to confer with the Russian ambassador, and to accede to whatever he should propose respecting the adjustment of the contested points *. The representatives of the other mediating powers sanctioned the tyrannical measures of their colleague by assisting at the conferences which he held with the national deputies. They even affixed their signatures to the treaty, and thus confirmed to the world the humiliation of an independent state by exacting the adoption of laws which were dictated by a foreign power †.

The object of Russia was however accomplished, for Poland became the theatre of civil war ‡. The dissidents, in order to screen

* Mr. Coxe says (v. ii, p. 496), that "this committee was induced by bribes and threats to arrange a body of articles, which not only restored the privileges of the dissidents, but perpetuated the elective monarchy, the *liberum veto*, and the other abuses in the constitution."

† See Life of Catherine the Second, v. ii, p. 27. Hist. de Pologne, t. ii, p. 190—192. "Ce traité portait aussi qu'il était conclu entre l'impératrice de Russie, les rois d'Angleterre, de Prusse, de Dannemarck et de Suède d'une part, et de l'autre le roi et la république de Pologne."

‡ It is evident, that *this* was the object of Russia, since the empress afterwards "urged those very disorders and miseries in which she had contributed to plunge the unfortunate Poles, as

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themselves from the just indignation of their countrymen, petitioned the empress not to withdraw her forces from the territories of the republic *, while the Catholics, on the other hand, formed themselves into armed confederacies for the defence of their civil and political liberties. But their cause was hopeless: the military force of the republic was unavailing on account of its defects, both in organization and in discipline: the resources of the state were weakened or perverted by the disunion or the anarchy of the citizens; and foreign assistance was implored in vain, while a hostile army was already established in the heart of the country. The desultory efforts of patriotic enthusiasm were unequal to sustain the regular attack of the Russian soldiery, who pursued a uniform course of victory through more than barbarian atrocities, and aggravated the horrors of war by indiscriminate carnage and oppression †.

Amidst the indifference of the govern-

the motive for her violation of the rights of nations." See Coxe, v. ii, p. 503.

* See Hist. de Pologne, t. ii, p. 196.

† See Coxe, v. ii, p. 496, 497. Life of Catherine the Second, v. ii, p. 90, 91. Hist. de Pologne, t. ii, p. 197—199.

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ments of Europe to a course of proceedings so unjust in itself and so pregnant with future evils, the cabinet of Constantinople alone deserves the praise of foresight and magnanimity. The Porte remonstrated against the outrages and the usurpations which were committed in Poland in contravention to the treaty of the Pruth, and being further exasperated by a violation of the Ottoman territory, published a declaration of war against Russia*. The Ottomans took up arms to vindicate the rights of independent nations. The purity of their motives was acknowledged not only by the Polish nation, but by the empress herself †. Even their want of success en-

* See the Turkish manifesto in the appendix to the Life of Catherine the Second, v. ii, p. 514, and in l'Histoire de Pologne, t. ii, p. 210.

† "The conduct of the grand signor," (says Mr. Tooke, Life of Catherine the Second, v. ii, p. 93) "in regard to the transactions in Poland, was *blameless and irreproachable.*" He however considers it *ridiculous* that "the disciples of Mahomet should fight in a cause which bore the name of Christ." (See p. 28). Mr. Tooke's statement of facts is more valuable than his opinion, and he shows (p. 31. note), that the Ottoman cabinet was not bribed into a declaration of hostilities against Russia. The empress also confessed, in the treaty which she entered into with Austria and Prussia for the dismemberment of Poland, that the war was undertaken on the part of the Turks solely on account of her usurpations in that country. A still more honourable testimony of the good faith of the Turks was given by the

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hances rather than diminishes the glory of their interposition, for they knew and they dreaded the enemy whose resentment they dared to provoke. But they took the field under all the disadvantages of their ancient military system, and the Russians consequently exhibited in every engagement the decisive superiority of modern tactics. The Turkish armies were routed, their fleets destroyed, their castles taken, their cities razed, and their provinces ravaged, by enemies, whose knowledge of war served only to increase its devastation, and whose thirst for slaughter was unabated by victory *.

confederacy of Bar, which deposited its manifesto in the hands of the sultan, and declared, that the safety of the republic depended entirely on the success of his generous efforts in their cause. (See Hist. de Pologne, t. ii, p. 248, 250, 305.)

* A succinct account of the operations of this war is given in the Encyclopædia Britannica, art. Turkey, which perhaps it may be gratifying to recapitulate. In the campaign of 1769, Azoff was taken: Chotin was invested, but the siege was raised. The Russians, however, took possession of it when the Turkish army, which was repulsed in its attempts to pass the Dniester, retreated to Bender. They also reduced Moldavia as far as Yassy, the capital. In 1770 Romanzoff defeated an army of Tartars commanded by the *khan*, near the Pruth, and an army of Turks commanded by the vizir, near the Danube. Kilia and Akkierman capitulated. Bender was stormed. Ibraïl was abandoned by the Turkish garrison on its being invested by the Russians. A Russian fleet from the Baltic entered the Archipelago, and

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Abdulhamid A. D. 1774—1789.

During the continuance of the Turkish war, the king of Prussia had occupied a considerable district of Poland, under pretence of forming lines to prevent the spreading of the plague, and he availed himself of the disposition which Austria had manifested of opposing the further progress of the Russian arms, in order to concert a plan for the dis-

after an engagement with that of the Turks, obliged it to run into the harbour of Tcheshmeh, where it was entirely destroyed by fire-ships. In the year 1771 the rebellion excited by Pugatchef, and the breaking out of the plague at Moscow, obliged the Russians to act only on the defensive. The Turks took the fortress of Girgiova, and beat the Russians in their attempt to dislodge them. They again became formidable in Wallachia, until Romanzoff, by a train of masterly dispositions, surprised and totally routed two considerable bodies of Turks on the right of the Danube, beat the vizir, and took the town and castle of Babadagh. General Essen retook Girgiova, and drove the Turks out of Wallachia, while the Russian fleet spread ruin throughout the islands of the Archipelago. The year 1772 was consumed in negociations, and in a desultory warfare along the banks of the Danube, which, as the Russian army could not easily be recruited, was generally advantageous to the Turks. In July 1773, the Russian grand army crossed the river, but failed in the attempt against Silistria. The remainder of this campaign was less glorious than the preceding to the Russians. In 1774, they again passed the Danube, and by defeating the Turks in every engagement, so intimidated them that they refused even to face their enemies. The vizir was at length hemmed in by Romanzoff at Shumla, where he was forced to accept of the terms of peace which were dictated to him by the Russian general, and to sign the treaty of Kainargik.

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memberment of the Polish republic. The cabinets of Vienna and St. Petersburg were induced to acquiesce in this iniquitous measure,—of which the almost immediate consequence has been the humiliation of the partitioning powers, and the overthrow of all the Continental governments. In its first effects it was, however, beneficial to the Ottomans; for Catherine, with the view of quieting the apprehensions of the cabinet of Vienna, and detaching the empress-queen from the defensive alliance which she had formed with the Porte, consented to purchase her concurrence in the partition of Poland by restoring the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia to the dominion of the sultan *, while she detached the Crimea from his temporal sovereignty, under pretence of securing its independence: she, however, retained her conquests in European and Asiatic Tartary as far as the mouths of the Bogh and the Cuban, besides obtaining the navigation of the Black Sea, and the free passage of the Dardanelles for her merchant ships †.

The principles, whether of morality or

* See Coxe, v. ii, p. 497—502.

† See Coxe, v. ii, p. 509.

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honour, which had hitherto restrained the more powerful members of the European confederacy from violating the common rights of independent nations, were forgotten in the shameless injustice which the combined courts had exercised in their spoliation of the Polish territories. Their aggressions excited a general indignation among the people of Europe, but produced only fruitless remonstrances from the cabinets of London, Paris, Stockholm, and Copenhagen *.

* Mr. Tooke says (v. ii, p. 116), that "the powers of Europe might have maintained the treaties of which they were the guarantees; but they were so easily deceived, or so indifferent to the fate of other nations, that Catherine said to Prince Henry of Prussia "'I will frighten Turkey; I will flatter'" (or rather I will bribe) "'England; do you take upon you to buy over Austria, that she may amuse France.'"—It would be foreign to my subject to enumerate the means which were employed, and the motives which were suggested, in order to reduce the Continental powers to such a humiliating silence; but 'Iliacos intra muros peccatur et extra,' and it would be uncandid to attempt to conceal the blame which justly attaches to England. In her relations with Russia she seems to have acted only from sordid considerations. The hope of making a treaty of commerce, and the fear of losing it, have induced her, at different periods, either to co-operate with Russia in preparing the ruin of Poland, or to reject the overtures which were made by France in order to prevent the dismemberment of that country. We even see reason to suspect, that in 1787, when she involved the Ottoman empire in a contest which brought it to the brink of ruin, she was stimulated only by resentment against the empress of Russia on account of her

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Thus was the political system of Europe virtually overturned from its foundation, and the balance of power, which had been considered as the safeguard of all the states of Christendom, was held up to the world as ideal or fallacious *. A selfish ambition, wherever it could be avowed with safety, became the ruling principle of every government. The possession of power authorized the exertion of violence, and the success of an encroachment served at once to excite and to justify the commission of new enormities †.

refusal to renew her commercial engagements. (See Coxe, v. ii, p. 609. Life of Catherine the Second, v. iii, p. 308.) In honour to the public spirit, though not to the wisdom, of the English nation, it should however be recorded, that while the king of Prussia was employing the subsidy which he received from Great Britain in annihilating the republic of Poland, the people of England were raising subscriptions for the purpose of assisting the king and the republic to maintain their independence.

* Volney, who prostituted his talents in writing for hire a justification of the measures of Russia (see Considérations sur la guerre des Turcs, en 1788), expressly says, "Aujourd'hui l'Europe est divisée en trois ou quatre grands partis, dont les intérêts sont tellement compliqués, qu'il est presqu' impossible d'établir un équilibre."—"Il faut le reconnaître, et il est plus dangereux de se le dissimuler, il n'y a plus d'équilibre en Europe."

† Volney says, "L'on peut considérer le traité de 1774" (that is, the treaty of *peace* of Kainargik) "comme l'avant-coureur de ce choc" (the *war* of 1787).

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The infamy of the new doctrine prevented its immediate and open promulgation in Christendom, but its adaptation to the relative circumstances of the Ottoman empire was universally admitted *. Hence it excited neither surprise nor reprobation when the empress of Russia abolished by her manifesto the nominal independence of the Crimea, and united it to her own dominions †. The apathy of Europe encouraged the Imperial courts to re-establish their ancient connexion, and to extend their views to the conquest of the whole of Turkey. The plan for the seizure, though not for the ultimate appropriation, of the Ottoman territories, appears to have been arranged in the personal interviews of Joseph and Catherine during their journey to the Crimea ‡. While, how-

* "The emperor Joseph," says Mr. Coxe, v. ii, p. 614, "published a declaration of war, in which he did not even attempt to varnish his aggression with the slightest colour of equity: he did not charge the Turks with a single infraction of the peace."

† See Coxe, v. ii, p. 593. See also the Russian manifesto in the appendix to the Life of Catherine the Second, v. iii, p. 471. "En effet," says M. de Volney, "qu'importe aux états éloignés une révolution qui ne menace ni leur sureté politique, ni leur commerce?"

‡ See Volney, considérations sur la guerre des Turcs. Coxe, v. ii, p. 611, 612. Life of Catherine the Second, v. iii, p. 291—296. "Leurs majestés impériales" (says the Prince de Ligne

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ever, they were concerting their measures, and carrying on their preparations for opening the campaign with an attack along the whole line of the Turkish frontier in Europe, the Turks themselves determined upon declaring war against Russia, in the hope of defeating the execution of designs which their good faith and moderation had been unable to prevent. It is uncertain whether they were instigated by England to adopt so precipitate a measure, or whether they were driven into it by the danger which kept on increasing every day, and necessitated all the preparations for war, while it left them exposed to all the disadvantages of peace *.

Time alone had repaired whatever injuries the Ottomans had sustained in their recent struggles with the power of Russia, for the government had neither inquired into the

in his letter from Baktcheserai in the Crimea, June 1, 1787) "se tâtoient quelquefois sur les pauvres diables de Turcs. On jetoit quelques propos en se regardant. Comme amateur de la belle antiquité et d'un peu de nouveautés, je parlois de rétablir les Grecs; Catherine, de faire renaître les Lycurgues et les Solons. Moi, je parlois d'Alcibiade; mais Joseph ii, qui étoit plus pour l'avenir que pour le passé, et pour le positif que pour la chimère, disoit:—Que diable faire de Constantinople?"

* The war was injudiciously declared on the 24th of August 1787, at the end of the campaign, so that before the Turks could act, their enemies were prepared for resisting them.

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cause, nor sought out the remedy, of their past defeats. Yet so great are the resources which the porte derives from the population and the wealth of its dominions, that it was able to support the unequal contest with both empires during four campaigns*. While the Russians were diverted from a co-operation in the affairs of the campaign by an unexpected attack on the part of the Swedes, and the German forces were commanded by the emperor in person, the Turks beat them from the field and even pursued them into the *bannat*†: the confederates, however, ultimately triumphed over the ill-concerted efforts of the Ottoman armies, but were prevented from accomplishing their final object by the insurrection in the Low Countries, and by disturbances in the hereditary dominions of the emperor, but more especially by the jealousy which the nations of Europe began to conceive on account of the increase of power which the two Imperial courts were on the point of acquiring‡. The emperor was

Selim the Third. A. D. 1789 —1807.

* "Pouvoit-on croire" (says the Prince de Ligne, in one of his letters from the camp before Oczacow), "que cet empire Musulman délabré eût pu mettre l'empire Russe dans le plus triste état?"

† See Coxe, v. ii, p. 616, 617.

‡ See Coxe, v. ii, p. 624.

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compelled by the intervention of England, Holland, and Prussia, to enter into an armistice, and finally to conclude a separate peace, with the porte, on the basis of re-establishing the territorial limits and the political relations which subsisted between the two empires before the war. The empress persevered in hostilities, and disregarded the threats of the mediating powers, whose efforts were indeed broken by the opposition of the people of England to the measures of government; at length, however, she yielded to their solicitations that she might accomplish the final partition of Poland, and concluded a definitive treaty of peace with the porte at Yassy, by which she added to her dominions only the *steppe*, or desert, which lies between the Bogh and the Dniester *.

The Ottomans endeavoured to keep aloof from the storm which was produced by the French revolution and convulsed the govern-

* Mr. Tooke's calculation of the losses sustained by the belligerents in men and money, is rather curious than satisfactory. Austria, he says, lost 130,000 soldiers and spent 360 millions of

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ments of Europe; but the invasion of Egypt compelled them to depart from their system
A. D. 1798 —1801. of neutrality. The French retained pos-

florins; Russia lost 200,000 soldiers and spent 200 millions of rubles; while Turkey lost 330,000 soldiers and spent 250 millions of piastres. The history of the war is as follows. The main body of the Austrians was assembled on the banks of the Save, and that of the Russians on the Bogh, in order to open the campaign with the sieges of Belgrade and of Oczacow. The Russians accomplished their object, though not till the month of December; but the grand vizir, by advancing with his whole force against the Austrians, repulsed them with disgrace, and followed up his advantages by making an incursion into the emperor's dominions. Chotin, however, surrendered, after a brave defence, to the division of the Imperial army which was commanded by Prince Cobourg; while Marshal Loudon, who was sent to command the army in Croatia, reduced Dubitza, Novi, and Gradiska. In 1789 the main army of the Turks, which had crossed the Danube at Ruschiuk, was defeated, with prodigious loss, at Fokshany and at Rimnik. Loudon again invested Belgrade, and forced the garrison to surrender. While the Austrian army took possession of Wallachia, that of the Russians occupied Moldavia and Bessarabia, together with the fortresses of Bender, Akkierman, Kilia, and Isaczi. "By these conquests," says Mr. Coxe, v. iii, p. 624, "the allies became masters of the whole line of fortresses which covered the Turkish frontier,—and the three grand armies, originally separated by a vast extent of country, were rapidly converging to the same point." The reduction of Orsova, in April 1790, was, however, the only military event which took place after the death of Joseph the Second, for Leopold showed a desire for peace, and the transactions on the Prussian frontiers soon occasioned the conclusion of an armistice. The Russians continued the war with cruelty at least equal to their success. They finished the campaign by the capture of Ismael and the murder of 30,000 Turkish prisoners. In 1791 they gained a

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session of that country during three years; and it was restored to the dominion of the porte only by the victories of the English. The circumstances which led to these memorable events are intimately blended with the general history of Europe; and the interest of the narrative could not be preserved without a review of the changes which had taken place among the Continental states, during a period of almost universal hostility. The plan of the present work forbids me to enter upon the subject, and further obliges me to pass over without notice the expeditions which were afterwards undertaken by the English themselves against Constantinople and Alexandria. A. D. 1807.

signal and decisive victory over the Turks at Matchin, but as the empress, according to Mr. Tooke, now began to see, that her victories were ruinous, and might occasion the loss of the provinces which she possessed in Poland, she authorized Prince Repnin to sign preliminaries of peace with the grand vizir, which were soon followed by the definitive treaty of Yassy.

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CHAPTER I.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE MANNERS, ARTS, AND GOVERNMENT OF THE TURKS.

National character.—Conduct compared with that of the Romans, —and of the Arabs.—Foreign learning and arts adopted and imitated.—The Ottoman sultans patrons of learning.—Extent and imperfection of Turkish knowledge.—Language.—Literature.—Printing.—Husbandry and productions.—Manufactures.—Architecture.—Sculpture.—Painting.—Chronology. —Geography.—Astrology.—Medicine.—Surgery.—Navigation.—Commerce.—Roads and travelling.—Couriers.—Abuse of power.—Evils of despotism.—Practicability of improvement.

National character.

THE character of the Turks, as it has been observed in different points of view, has either been extolled as a pattern for imitation, or reprobated as an object of abhorrence. We have been invited to emulate their military virtues, and to copy them in their administration of justice; we have also been called

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upon to detest their undistinguishing severity, and to ridicule their efforts for opposing their enemies. Their government has been envied by Christian monarchs, as pursuing its object with the fewest deviations; and it has been decried by philosophers, as the exercise of unorganized power.

The genius of a people, and the spirit of their institutions, are best learned from the study of their history; and the annals of the Ottoman nation represent this horde of Tartars issuing from the deep forests which skirt the Caucasus, impelled by their native turbulence and love of war; inflamed with the thirst of universal conquest by the precepts of their religion; terrible to their neighbours, but restrained in their domestic excesses by veneration for the law, which enforces reverence for the state, though it fail in insuring respect for the monarch. For amidst the most outrageous exertions of violence against individuals, the sovereign power, the rights of the military and the great body of the people have always been sacred. The maxims of Turkish government, like those of more polished nations, are rather the dictates of caprice than the deductions of reason; and the soil of the most fertile countries in the

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world, wetted with the tears and the blood of the inhabitants, reproaches the legislators with their barbarity and their ignorance.

To describe with impartiality a people among whom every thing is contradictory to our usages, though not perhaps more repugnant to reason, requires a superiority to prejudice, a sobriety of observation, and a patience of inquiry, which few travellers possess. In the scarcity of information we have not hesitated to receive, as the authentic history of an illustrious nation, anecdotes collected by chance, assertions unsupported by evidence, and facts perverted by design*.

The national character of the Turks is a composition of contradictory qualities. We find them brave and pusillanimous; gentle and ferocious; resolute and inconstant; ac-

* I consider the Chevalier D'Ohsson as a native historian; for he is an Armenian, born in Turkey, and a tributary subject of the Porte. His *general description of the Ottoman empire*, of which the *religious code* is the only part yet published, gives a correct account of the *ceremonies* and *customs* of the Turkish nation. But their morality, it must be allowed, is in many instances represented rather as it ought to be in conformity with their religious precepts, than as it is actually found to exist. The passages of the *koran* inculcating the fundamental virtues of men in society, because they are continually in the mouths of the Turks, are asserted by D'Ohsson to be deeply engraven on their

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tive and indolent; passing from devotion to obscenity, from the rigor of morality to the grossness of sense; at once delicate and coarse; fastidiously abstemious and indiscriminately indulgent. The great are alternately haughty and humble; arrogant and cringing; liberal and sordid: and in general it must be confessed, that the qualities, which least deserve our approbation, are the most predominant. On comparing their limited acquirements with the learning of the Christian nations of Europe, we are surprised at their ignorance: but we must allow that they have just and clear ideas of whatever falls within the contracted sphere of their observation. What would become of the other nations of Europe, if, in imitation of the Turkish government, the highest offices in the state were filled by men taken from the lowest rank in society, and unprepared by educa-

hearts, and so to regulate their conduct, as *to make them the most humane and the most charitable of all the people of the earth.* (Tableau Général de l'empire Ottoman, t. iv, p. 302.)

Foreigners indeed run into the opposite extreme, and describe them as universally savage and barbarous,

" Monstrum nulla virtute redemptum
A vitiis,"

on account of the cruelties and excesses committed by the soldiery in time of war.

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tion or habit to discharge their important duties*?

Conduct compared with that of the Romans,

The Romans, when they had subdued the states of Greece, were not insensible to the charms of Grecian literature; and the hitherto unconquered warriors confessed the superior force of science and of art. The Romans were already illustrious in domestic and military virtues, renowned for the gravity of their manners and the severity of their practical morality: their republic was founded on law, and was rich with the spoils of conquered nations, though temperate in the use of them; and if the citizens disregarded the productions of elegance and taste, it was less from ignorance of their value, than from observing in other nations their fortuitous connexion with effeminacy and vice. The Turks, though, previously to their emigration, they must have possessed, in common with other savage nations, a probity natural to their simple modes of life and the absence of temptation, yet suddenly becoming masters of some of the richest countries of the earth,

* Leunclavius (procem. de præsenti rerum Turcicarum statu) says, "Est in hisce barbaris prudentia quædam minime barbara, tam ex usu, quam memoria rerum comparata."

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they soon rioted in enjoyment with the keenness of newly excited appetite. If the adoption of a common religion promoted intercourse between them and the inhabitants of the kingdom of Persia, the profession of jarring and mutually intolerant opinions prevented communication with the Christian subjects of the Eastern empire; and the knowledge which the Greeks possessed was beheld by the conquerors with the same contempt as their persons. They conquered to inherit; but they knew no honourable means of subsistence besides arms, and left to slaves and cowards the cultivation of the earth and the practice of the arts. The indefinite extension of their empire, and the universal propagation of their faith, were the avowed objects of their warfare; and they had consequently a sufficient number of enemies to exercise their courage. The intervals of peace were the seasons of unrestrained indulgence; but these were too frequently interrupted to allow them to sink into effeminacy: thus, they passed from idleness to rapine, and, under different circumstances, they alternately exhibited the ferociousness of barbarian courage, and the vices of luxury.

and of the Arabs.

The conduct of the Turks has also been

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contrasted with that of the Arabs, who, after extending their conquests to the western boundaries of Europe and Africa, cultivated the sciences with success, and preserved a ray of literature, which was almost extinguished among Christian nations. But the Arabs, long before the age of Mahomet, were a polished and learned nation; and the attention which they paid to science, when they rested from their conquests, was merely the resumption of their ancient habits.

The intermarriages between the Moors and the Christian women, which it is said Almanzor encouraged in Spain, have, with much gallantry and ingenuity, been regarded as the cause of that taste for literature which distinguished the Arabs of the eighth century*; but as the same taste prevailed in all the conquests of the Moors throughout the three divisions of the ancient continent, and as their acquirements in literature kept pace with the progress of their arms, it may be doubted, whether it be not more just to attribute the invention of algebra and the improvement of medicine, as well as the establishment of colleges in Arabia, Syria, Persia,

* Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 14.

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Africa, and Spain, where the sciences were so successfully cultivated, rather to the refinement of the court of Bagdad, and the encouragement which learning received from the Caliphs, than to the connubial happiness which the Spanish ladies conferred on their unchristian husbands*. The Turks indeed cannot be accused of having neglected these *extraordinary* aids of science; for, after the siege of Nice, when the Grecian ladies, in the presence of Sultan Orkhan, bewailed the loss of their husbands, the generous conqueror appointed honourable successors from among the officers of his court and army, and the grateful widows spread the fame of his humanity over the neighbouring regions†.

The peculiar ferocity of the Turks has been rashly attributed *to the arrogant and barbarous dictates of their religion.* The leading features of the Mahometan religion are, however, very much misrepresented by such expressions. Mahomet not only per-

* See note A. at the end of the volume.

† Cantemir, p. 26. I may also instance the conduct of Sultan Orkhan himself, who married the daughter of the Byzantine emperor, and that of his son Murad, who married the daughter of the prince of Servia. See Mignot, Hist. Ottom. t. i, p. 110, 118.

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mitted, but advised, his followers, both male and female, to apply themselves to learning. He even seems to have considered its acquisition as the performance of a religious duty, for among his sayings, which were preserved by his companions, is this remarkable one, that, "the ink of the learned, and the blood of the martyrs are of equal value in heaven*." The historian D'Ohsson, who had at least as good an opportunity of knowing the true character of the Turks as any other writer, says, that the humanity, the beneficence, and the hospitality, which, during so many ages, have been the *characteristic distinction* of the nations, which are subject to the law of Islamism, are the necessary consequence of the precepts of the *koran*†; and though, from a ridiculous opinion, which still prevails in Europe, that ignorance is the groundwork of Mahometanism, we persist in considering the Turks as rude and savage, not only unacquainted with the advantages of learning, but even avowedly persecuting it in obedience to the precepts of their religion; yet we cannot deny that the Arabs, a people equally fa-

* See D'Herbelot bibliothèque Orientale, voc. *elm*, p. 312.

† See Tab. Gén. t. iv, p. 301.

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voured by both Minervas, professed the same religion, and probably with more ardent zeal, as new converts, and with stronger attachment, from the circumstance of its being first propagated in their own country. We know the Persians to have been, from remote antiquity, a polite and ingenious people; and we find, that as soon as they had recovered from the first shock of the Mahometan arms, and had embraced the religion of their conquerors, they followed their natural bent, and resumed their former studies, which were chiefly poetry and the improvement of their language. The introduction of the Mahometan religion into India did not diminish in any degree the reputation of that wise and inventive nation. Even the Tartarian princes, and chiefly Tamerlane who was a patron of the poet Hafez, were so far from discouraging polite letters, like the Goths and Huns, that while they adopted the religion and the language of the conquered country, they promoted the fine arts with a boundless munificence*. "This prejudice against the Turks, absurd as it may seem, is of very ancient growth: it was first brought into Europe at

* See Hist. of the Persian language, by Sir William Jones. Works, V. ii, p. 325.

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that memorable period when letters began to revive in the West, and has continued to this day without any diminution. It was the fashion of that age to look upon every person as barbarous who did not study the philosophy of the old academy; and because the Turks had driven the Greeks from their country, it was immediately concluded, that they persecuted even the language, and learning of that nation*."

* See prefatory discourse to an essay on the history of the Turks, by Sir William Jones, in the appendix to his memoirs published by Lord Teignmouth, p. 607.—Sir William Jones's conjecture as to the origin of this prejudice, (which is also suggested by D'Herbelot,) is strengthened by the testimony of Sir John Mandevil, whose travels were undertaken in the century preceding the conquest of Constantinople; at which time no opinion was prevalent in Europe, that the pursuit of knowledge was restrained by the precepts of the Mahometan religion. Mandevil served in the army of the Saracen sultan of Egypt, with whom he enjoyed such intimacy, as frequently to be admitted to private and familiar conversation. On one occasion the sultan pronounced a severe, but, in Mandevil's opinion, a just, censure on the civil and ecclesiastical government, and the manners of Europe at that period. The traveller was surprised at the extent and accuracy of the sultan's information, and naturally inquired whence he could have obtained it.—" Domine, salva reverentia, qualiter potestis ita plane hoc noscere? De hominibus (ait) meis interdum mitto ad modum mercatorum per terras et regiones Christianorum, cum balsamo, gemmis, sericis, ac aromatibus, ac per illos singula exploro, tam de statu imperatoris, ac pontificum principum ac sacerdotum, quam prælatorum, nec non æquora, provincias ac distinctiones earum. Igitur

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The antiquity of the Arabic language, and its superiority to all others in copiousness and elegance, have been demonstrated by men of the greatest erudition among Europeans; some of whom have even thought, that if the works of Arabian writers were alone preserved in the otherwise universal destruction of literature, every kind of useful learning might thence be sufficiently restored. Of this opinion were Clenardus, Postellus, and Scaliger. Nor will their opinion be censured with extraordinary severity by those who reflect upon the progress which the Arabians have made in almost every department of literature. The excellence of the Arabic language is confessed by all who are able to comprehend its copiousness and extent, the precision of its expressions, and the nice distinctions of its meanings. Some idea may be formed of its

peracta collocutione nostra satis producta, egressos principes in cameram revocavit, ex quibus quatuor de majoribus juxta nos advocans, fecit eos expresse ac debite, per singulas divisiones in lingua gallicana distinguere per partes, et singularum nomina partium, omnem regionem terræ Angliæ, ac alias Christianorum terras multas, ac si inter nostros fuissent nati, vel multo tempore conversati. Nam et ipsum soldanum audivi cum eis bene et directe loquentem idioma Francorum."—Mandevil, ap. Hakluyt. cap. 23, p. 45.

An instance of similar conduct is recorded by Timour in his Institutes.

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richness from the testimony of Pocock, who tells us, that to enumerate and define the diversified appellations of a single idea or object would, in some instances, furnish matter for a volume: and in corroboration of his assertion may be cited a learned grammarian, Ibn Chalewaih, who composed a whole chapter on the names of a lion, which are five hundred, and another on those of a serpent, which are two hundred. Firuzabad mentions his having written a book on the names and properties of honey, and says, that he had not completed his task, though he had enumerated upwards of eighty. The same author asserts, that there are in Arabic a thousand distinct names for a sword.

The Arabic language had reached this state of improvement rather by use than by any established method. Its historians relate, that it was not subjected to grammatical rules until the first century of the hegira, when the Caliph Ali, son of Abu Taleb, the fifth in order of succession, a prince equal in virtues and accomplishments (according to Reiskius*) to any whom Rome can exhibit, appointed Abul Eswed El Duli to compose a

* In dissertatione de principibus Mohammedanis, qui aut ab eruditione, aut ab amore literarum et literatorum, claruerunt. Lipsiæ 1746.

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grammar, in order to prevent the language from becoming corrupted in consequence of its wide diffusion among nations which professed the religion of the *koran*. The Arabic dictionary was compiled in the first century of the hegira, and was gradually improved by succeeding lexicographers, particularly by Firuzabad, who has deservedly acquired the highest reputation by the excellence of the plan and the ability of the execution. The words are carefully deduced from their origin, and not only are their various significations accurately described, and their uses illustrated by passages from the best authors, but the nature and properties of the things themselves are investigated into and explained, after the manner of an encyclopædia. When thus in the very infancy of islamism, while the propagation of its doctrines and the increase of their empire were the chief cares of the successors of Mahomet, the rules of the Arabic language were so elaborately discussed, and the meanings of its words so accurately defined, is it to be wondered, that a superstructure of knowledge should be erected on foundations so firmly established, and that the value of learning should be acknowledged throughout the Mahometan world, as

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soon as foreign conquest had secured internal tranquillity?

The reign of Abulgiafar Almansur, the second caliph of the family of the Abassides, was the epoch not only of the restoration of Arabic learning, but of a new direction and wider extension in the pursuits of the learned*. The seventh caliph, Abd'ullah Almansur, son of Haroun el Raschid, perfected the plan which his predecessors had described. This illustrious protector of the sciences and patron of learned men, in obedience to the precept of Mahomet, who orders his disciples to seek learning though it be in China, dispatched his ambassadors to foreign courts, and his emissaries to distant countries, for the purpose of collecting, from whatever source and at whatever expense, the treasures of learning and philosophy which were dispersed, or hoarded up, in Persia, Chaldæa, Armenia, Greece, Syria, and Egypt. From so vast a collection whatever was judged to be useful was not only translated into Arabic, under the care of the most learned of his doctors, but illustrated and commented upon by them;

* Abulfaragius in hist. dynast.—Leo Afer, in libello de viris quibusdam illustribus apud Arabes, in biblio. Græca Joannis Alberti Fabricii, lib. 6, cap. 9.

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so that whatever learning or philosophy the Greeks possessed, or whatever discoveries had been made in knowledge by foreign nations, were transfused by the Arabs into their own language, and thus became naturalized among them. Under such encouragement, and with such ample means of gratifying the thirst after knowledge, learning necessarily flourished; and Erpenius asserts, that Athens itself could scarcely boast of having possessed, at one time, more eminent scholars, in the department either of the elegant or severer sciences, than Arabia, in his time, could produce. It is indeed true, that the application of the Arabs to general learning declined with the power of their caliphs, and though the works of preceding authors were preserved, the study of them was, in a great degree, discontinued; so that, in process of time, few books were valued or understood except those which relate to medicine or jurisprudence.

Persia, whose tranquillity was overturned, whose ancient language and literature were confounded and obliterated, by the irruptions of the Arabs, and the introduction of the Arabic language together with the religion of Mahomet, did not recover from the disorders, which were occasioned by the evils

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of conquest, till the age of Mamum, when the governors of the Persian provinces, shaking off the yoke of the caliphs, established new dynasties. The Persian language owed its restoration to the poets, who, by correcting its irregularities and enriching it with the treasures of the Arabic, have brought it to its present state of perfection. Scientific pursuits did not accord with the lively genius of Persia, so much as poetry. Its poets were indeed so numerous, that, according to Reviczki*, there is not a province which cannot boast of having given birth to some illustrious poet; but the district of Fars, or Persia proper, which gave its name to the whole kingdom, was unequalled in the number of its native poets, and the unrivalled excellency of their performances. The genius of the Persians was not, however, wholly employed in so seductive a study: philosophy and the sciences obtained some share of their attention. Even in the reign of Chosroes, one of the kings of Persia before the age of Islamism†, the writings of Plato and Aristotle were made familiar to the Persians; and Mohammed, the son of Mahmud, published a compre-

* In specim. Poes. Pers. Vindobonæ, 1771.

† Agatia. l. 2.

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hensive, scientific work, in which the principles of an hundred and twenty liberal arts and sciences were explained.

Foreign learning and arts adopted and imitated.

The Turks, possessed of Arabian and Persian literature, even at so early a period as that of their initiation into the doctrines of Mahometanism, do not perhaps deserve severe reproach for having overlooked, on their conquest of the eastern empire, the chaster beauties of Greek and Roman learning, which were concealed from their research by the obscurity of an unknown language. They indeed rejected, as useless, the dogmatical knowledge on which the Greeks valued themselves: but, unless we suppose them to have been previously instructed, they learned all that the Greeks could teach them of agriculture, of navigation, of mechanics, and of those arts which are subservient to the purposes of utility, or even of luxury.

The destruction of the ancient monuments of art is not to be imputed to the Turks. Soliman, says Leunclavius, paused at Troas, and admired the remains of stately edifices which had been destroyed by the irruption of the Goths*. Preceding irruptions had in

* Leunclavius, Hist. Musul. Turc. lib. iv, p. 206. edit. 1591. Gibbon's Rom. Hist. v. i, chap. 10, p. 491.

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like manner annihilated the celebrated labours of Phidias and Praxiteles; and the Turks are blameable only for having completed the work of destruction, by employing the fragments of ancient buildings in modern edifices, or for common purposes.

The Turks are reproached with not having imitated the architecture of ancient Greece, and with not having corrected one fault, or conceived any idea of proportion; from the perfect models which they have daily before their eyes*. But a slight recollection of history must convince us, that in the capital the Turks could have found no remains of ancient Greek architecture. They have however copied the most perfect model existing there, and have built all their principal mosques in close imitation of the cathedral of Sancta Sophia†. Statuary and painting, it

* Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 208.

† "Ad hujus templi formam omnia fere Turcarum templa sunt constructa." (Busbequii Epist. i, p. 27.)

"If they have fine mosques, it is because they had a fine model before their eyes, the church of Sancta Sophia." (Tournefort, V. ii, p. 181.)

"There are even mosques, particularly those of Sultan Ahmed in the Hippodrome, and of Shahzadé, which are of a lighter construction than Sancta Sophia; and though built on the plan of that ancient Greek church, have surpassed their model. This model, indeed, is far from being a master-piece." (De Tott, V. i, p. 228.)

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is true, are discouraged by the spirit of their religion; and to their intemperate zeal we must attribute the destruction, or defacing, of all the monuments of *ancient* art which the Greek emperors had collected for the ornament of the metropolis, which had been spared by the rage of faction and the pillage of the crusaders*.

The Ottoman sultans patrons of learning.

Though war and conquest were the chief occupations of the Ottomans, the early sultans do not appear to have been wholly insensible to the advantages of learning. Sultan Orkhan, in the year thirteen hundred and thirty-six of the Christian æra, founded an academy at Brusa, which became so illustrious by the learning of its professors, that students, even from Arabia and Persia, did not disdain to become the disciples of the

* « On sait que long-temps avant la chûte du bas-empire, les fureurs des Iconoclastes, soutenues par le fanatisme de Léon l'Isaurien, et du prince Théophile, avoient porté les coups les plus funestes à la peinture et à la sculpture." (Tab. Gén. t. iv, p. 457.)

A minute and curious description of the ancient statues *destroyed by the crusaders, when they took and pillaged Constantinople in the year* 1204, is given by Nicetas, an historian who held several important offices in the court of the Greek emperor at the time. (Nicet. ap. Fabricii Bib. Græc. V. vi, p. 405.—See also Gibbon's Roman History, V. xi, p. 238.)

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Othmanidæ*. It is remarked by their own historians, that the monarchs of this dynasty, from Osman its founder to Ahmed the First, though they did not all equally illustrate their reigns by their atchievements and their virtues, yet were all distinguished by their erudition, and the encouragement which they gave to learning†. The Augustan age of Turkish literature was the reign of Soliman, surnamed the Lawgiver, the great-grandson of Mahomet the Second whose victories terminated the Roman empire. This prince also was a protector of the Persian poets. Under his patronage was composed the poem on the loves of Joseph and Zelihka, the work of Noureddinn Jami, which is considered by competent judges of oriental literature to be the finest composition extant in the East, and scarcely inferior to the most polished productions of Europe. The conqueror of Constantinople was renowned among the nations of the East for his piety, his learning, his knowledge of foreign languages, and his acquirements in general science It is recorded in the history of his life, that, when

* Cantemir, p. 26.
† Tab. Gén. t. ii, p. 478.

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he entered the deserted palace of the last of the Cæsars, he repeated an elegant and appropriate Persian distich on the instability of human grandeur.

" Perdé dary mikuned ber kyæ Kaisar ankebut;
" Bumy neubet mizened ber kunbeti Efrasiab."

The spider holds the veil in the palace of Cæsar:
The owl stands sentinel on the watch-tower of Afrasiab*.

Christian writers have, notwithstanding, represented him as cruel, perfidious, and bloody; without faith, humanity, or religion; and considering piety and justice as virtues belonging to the vulgar. He is accused of having defaced, with a single stroke of his battle-axe, in proof of his extraordi-

* Cantemir, p. 102, note 16. Sir William Jones translated these lines before he was acquainted with the customs of eastern courts, or he would have preserved in his translation the characteristic figures which constitute the chief beauty of the original. *Perdé* is the curtain which is spread before the throne, or at the entrance of the hall of state, which the pages draw aside when strangers are admitted to an audience: but here the office of chamberlain is assigned to the spider. *Neubet*, the martial music, which from the turrets of the imperial residence announces the evening retreat, is replaced by the screechings of the owl. (See Tab. Gén. t. iii, p. 49, for the introduction of the *neubet* by Ertogrul, father of Osman the First, at that time governor of Angora.)

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nary strength, an ancient monument, which is still to be seen in the Hippodrome of Constantinople; a brazen column, formed by three serpents twisted spirally, whose heads, spreading on the sides, composed a kind of capital. It is supposed to have been brought from Delphi, where it supported the famous golden tripod which the Greeks, after the battle of Platæa, found in the camp of Mardonius*. Nor is this the most serious accusation which is alleged against Mahomet the Second, on the credit of popular and uncer-

* See Gibbon, Rom. hist. v. xii, p. 239. "The three entwisted *bodies* only of the serpents now remain; *one of the heads* was broken off by Mahomet the Second." Dallaway, Constantinople ancient and modern, p. 68.

It is curious that Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, in her account of this column, should describe the serpents as, at that time, "with their mouths gaping;" (V. ii, p. 250.) particularly as Tournefort, who preceded her ladyship in his visit to Constantinople, expressly says, "that the remaining two heads were taken away in 1700." (Vol. ii, p. 196.) He accuses Sultan Murad of having broken off the first head.

Lord Sandwich says (p. 128.), that "Sultan Amurath, one day passing this way, to make an experiment of the strength of his arm, beat off the head of one of the serpents with his *topouz*, after which his followers, in imitation of their sovereign, destroyed the remaining two." From these examples it may be seen, how little the traditions of Constantinople are deserving of credit; and they may serve to guide our judgment, in determining upon other charges which rest upon similar testimony.

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tain tradition, and in defiance of the testimony of contemporary historians. His victory over the Greeks, and the sack of their capital, are said to have been stained with the commission of all the crimes which unbridled cruelty could have suggested.

Mr. Eton, in his historical account of the siege and taking of Constantinople, says, "that the Greeks who fled for safety to the church of Sancta Sophia were all slain, *and the church was converted into a stable.* Three long days and three long nights the air was shaken with the cries of the vanquished. The sultan heard it in his camp, and it lulled him to sleep. The dogs ran into the fields howling *with compassion*, or leaped into the sea." After three days the sultan entered the city. "He made a sumptuous feast for his pashas and officers *in the holy temple of Sancta Sophia;* and as he sat *banquetting* he caused to be killed, for his diversion and that of his guests, great numbers of his prisoners of the first distinction for birth, eminence and learning, among whom were many of the late emperor's relations; and *these feasts* he repeated daily, till he had destroyed *all* the Grecian nobility, priests, and persons of learning who

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had fallen into his hands, of both sexes, and of all ages*".

Cantemir, the Turkish historian, was ignorant of the commission of these horrible enormities: and even Gibbon had not the advantage of consulting the documents, whence Mr. Eton has collected the materials for so pathetic a picture. I must confess however, that the effect of this history is somewhat weakened by the *knowledge* we have, that the church of Sancta Sophia was converted into a mosque on the very day of the conquest of the city†, and that, consequently, the sultan was not lulled to sleep during three days in his camp, while his soldiers were slaughtering the citizens; that the church was not converted into a stable, or a wine-house; and what is still more consolatory, that it needed no purification from pollution by human blood‡.

It is indeed difficult to imagine, that a mind furnished like that of Mahomet the Second, which, in the midst of slaughter, and the exultation of victory, could pause,

* Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 145.

† See Tab. Gén. t. iv, p. 589. Gibbon, v. xii, p. 240.

‡ See Tab. Gén. t. ii, sec. 2, liv. i, chap. i. des purifications.

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from a generous feeling, at reflections so humiliating to imperial greatness, should either wantonly indulge in the unprovoked murder of his newly conquered subjects, or in the destruction and mutilation of the most venerable monuments of antiquity*.

A natural consequence of that love of learning which distinguished many of the Arabian caliphs and Mahometan potentates of different families, was the desire to diffuse and perpetuate knowledge by multiplying copies of the works of their most esteemed authors, and depositing their collections in public libraries, which they endowed with funds for the salary of the librarians and the support of the edifices. The example of these princes has been imitated by the Ottoman sultans, and by several of their grand vizirs. A *medressé*, or college for the education of students, and a *kitab-khanè*, or library, are considered as appendages indispensably necessary to a *jami*, or

* The memory of this cruel sultan, according to Tournefort, continues to spread terror through the Seraglio; and "the pages dare not enter the kitchen gardens, ever since Mahomet the Second caused *seven* of them to be ript up, to discover who had eaten *one* of his cucumbers." (V. ii, p. 246.)

Gibbon (V. xii, p. 184.) calls it a *melon*, and has *fourteen* pages.

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mosque of the first order. In the metropolis of the Turkish empire there are reckoned thirty-five public libraries, famous for the number of their scarce and valuable manuscripts; in the least considerable of which the number of volumes exceeds a thousand. The books are written with great care on vellum paper; the text of each page is enclosed in an highly ornamented framework, and the beginning of each chapter or section is splendidly illuminated. Each volume, besides being bound in morocco leather, is preserved from the dust and worms by a leathern case, on the outside of which, as well as on the edges of the leaves of the work itself, the title is written in a large and legible character. All these libraries are open to the inspection of the public. There are, besides, within the walls of the seraglio, two libraries for the use of the imperial household, founded by Ahmed the Third, and Mustafa the Third, and enriched with books of their own acquisition, and that of all their successors, obtained by purchase, plunder, contribution, or confiscation*.

* Tab. Gén. t. ii, pp. 488, 493. The public library founded

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The Abbé Sevin, who was sent by Lewis the Fifteenth into the Levant for the purpose of collecting manuscripts, was so little curious as to desist from making any inquiry into the state of these libraries, because some persons assured him, that Murad the Fourth had burned all the Greek manuscripts which they contained*. Other travellers, relying upon assurances equally undeserving of credit, have asserted, that in them were preserved the ancient collections of the Greek emperors. But the Abbé Toderini, a learned Venetian, who occupied himself, during his residence in Turkey, exclusively, and successfully, with researches into the Turkish literature, procured a catalogue of the books in the imperial library; among which it appears, that there are indeed Greek and Latin manuscripts, but no trace of the lost decades of Livy, nor of such parts as are wanting to complete the works of other ancient authors†.

In the public libraries at Constantinople

under Mustafa the Third, by the vizir Raghib Pasha, *is the most modern;* and yet De Tott says, that *before it there was no such thing at Constantinople.* (V. i, p. 146.)

* Mem. de l'acad. des belles lettres, t. vii, p. 334.

† Toderini, de la littérature des Turcs, t. ii, p. 49, Paris, 1789.

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there are catalogues giving the title, and a short account of the subject, of each volume which they contain: but a more curious work is a general catalogue executed on the same plan, which comprehends, under the name of *essami'y kutub*, all the works in literature of any celebrity in the three learned languages of the country; the subjects of which are, for the most part, theology, jurisprudence, moral philosophy, medicine, rhetoric, history, and poetry*.

Extent and imperfection of Turkish knowledge.

If we call the Turks an illiterate people, it is not because learning is universally neglected by individuals: for, on the contrary, the *ulema*, or theological lawyers, undergo a long and laborious course of study; the Turkish gentlemen are all taught certain necessary, and even ornamental, parts of learning; and few children, at least in the capital, are left without some tincture of education†.

* Tab. Gén. t. ii, p. 491.

† The studies in the *medressés*, or public colleges, are conducted with much order and method. They are divided into ten classes under the common denomination of *ilm*, which signifies science or knowledge; that is, grammar, *ilm-sarf*; syntax, *ilm-nahhw*; logic, *ilm-manntik*; morals, *ilm-adab*; the science of allegories, (which is in the stead of rhetoric) *ilm-méâny*; theology, *ilm-kelam*, or *ilm-illahy*; philosophy, *ilm-hikmeth*; jurisprudence, *ilm-fikihh*; the *koran* and its commentaries *ilm-*

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It must be acknowledged, however, that the objects of Turkish study, the rhetoric and logic, the philosophy and metaphysics, of the dark ages, do in reality only remove men further from real knowledge. The instruments, without which the researches of the acutest natural philosopher would be imperfect, are either entirely unknown in Turkey, or known only as childish playthings to excite the admiration of ignorance, or to gratify a vain curiosity. The telescope, the microscope, the electrical machine, and other aids of science, are unknown as to their real uses. Even the compass is not universally employed in their navy, nor are its common purposes thoroughly understood. Need it then be observed, that navigation, astronomy, geography, agriculture, chemistry, and all the arts which have been, as it were, created anew since the grand discoveries of the two

tefsir; the oral laws of the prophet, *ilm-hadits*. Most of the works in which these sciences are studied are written in the Arabic language, the knowledge of which is indispensably necessary, and can be learned only by a constant application for many years. The private studies of the children of the *ulema* are conducted on the same plan as in the colleges: those of persons of quality are confined to oriental history, and such philosophy as is in vogue in the Ottoman empire. (See Tab. Gén. t. ii, p. 467.)

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last centuries, are either unknown, or practised only according to a vicious and antiquated routine.

The Turks possess, in their own language or in Arabic, the philosophy of Aristotle and the works of Plato, together with innumerable treatises on astronomy and chemistry, as well as on astrology and alchymy*. But they have no books calculated to advance their progress in the arts, nor to teach them the rudiments of science: and a skill in jurisprudence, founded, not on reason and nature, but on positive and imperfect precept; a knowledge of controversy, and the imaginary capacity of ascertaining with precision whether Abubekir, Omar, and Othman were impostors and robbers, or the true successors of the prophet; the being able to determine whether it be necessary, on rising from bed, to wash the feet with water, or only to rub them with the bare hand; though in Turkey they are thought to involve the dearest interests, yet attract from strangers as little respect, as the intricate and inexplicable difficulties which occupy the leisure and disturb the peace of our own domestic sectaries.

* Peyssonnel, réponse à M. de Volney, p. 14.

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Elementary knowledge, so highly appreciated by their ancestors, was already lost to the Greeks before their necks had bowed to a barbarian yoke: and it requires historical testimony to convince us, that the descendants of the people, whom we respect as the inventors of all that is exquisite in the fine arts, could be guilty of so wide a deviation from the principles of taste, as we see in the design and execution of the paintings, the coinage, the sculpture, the architecture, the writings, and even the amusements, of the later Greeks. At the period of the conquest of Constantinople elementary knowledge had not revived in the west of Europe: in Arabia it had never existed. Whence then could the Turks have derived it? They looked around for instruction; but there was no one to teach them: and yet we reproach them for not having restored what the Greeks had shamefully suffered to perish*.

* The Greek prince Cantemir tells us, (p. 99.) "We are not to imagine, with the generality of Christians, that Greece is so far sunk in barbarism, *as not in these later ages to have produced men little inferior to the most learned of her ancient sages:*" and he proceeds to enumerate a long list of persons who flourished in his time, famous for their learning, doctors of great piety, preachers, divines, controvertists, and philosophers of all the old uncorrupted Greek sects; men, whose doubtful utility was bound-

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The government of the Turks has been accused of extinguishing the light of science, and forcing their subjects to decline in rational improvement and mechanical skill. But I doubt the truth of the assertion; and I do not hesitate to believe, that, with the single exception of Grecian literature, knowledge is as successfully cultivated and the rules of art as accurately observed, as on their first invasion of the metropolis. The *minarets* of Sancta Sophia, erected immediately after the conquest of Constantinople, are of less elegant construction than others of more modern date. The early imperial mosques, built by Greek architects, are in no respect superior to the later ones; and men may at this day be found in Constantinople

ed by their parishes, and whose names have not outlived their anniversaries. In his zeal for the vindication of the honour of modern Greece, he gives an instance of the *bathos*, which outrivals even Blackmore. "The Greeks," said a Persian courtier to Sultan Murad, "who now obey your sceptre, *were once our lords, and I have this day found, they justly deserved that honour.* I had heard of their fame in our historians, but never happened so meet with any one of that nation worthy the character formerly given them. But it has been my fortune to-day to know a Greek, whom if the rest are like, that race was truly deserving as well of our empire as of your service. *For though I am second to none among our countrymen in music, I am scarce worthy to be called the scholar of this Greek.*" (Cantemir, p. 247.)

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capable of equalling whatever monument was erected by the lower Greek emperors. The Turks still possess whatever knowledge they once inherited: their patrimony is still unimpaired in their hands: nor are they averse from improvement. Their friendly reception of intelligent foreigners might be adduced as a proof of their docility; and if the instructions which they have occasionally received from them have not produced their full effect, it is because the principle of the improvement introduced was never sufficiently explained: the work was left unfinished, and no successor was appointed in the school to continue the instruction.

The improved state of the mechanical arts in Christendom, where they are cherished and extended by the rapid communication of the discoveries of innumerable professors of science, makes us regard with contempt the condition of them in Turkey, where they are neither founded on principles, nor connected with each other, but appear merely as the fragments of a dilapidated system, while their practice is a servile imitation, rather than a process of art conducted by any intellectual rule. In a country which is destitute of theoretical or speculative know-

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ledge, we look in vain for architects, for navigators, for mechanicians, for agriculturists. But it would be rash to presume an inferiority in their capacity from the imperfection of their knowledge; or to conclude, that they are so besotted by ignorance as even to be vain of it, and because they possess not, that they therefore despise foreign improvements. Though, indeed, there be wanting the mind to guide, we must not think, that mental superiority would be despised; though there be no judgment to direct their operations, we must not suppose, that such a director would be treated with neglect. The Turks, on the contrary, are deficient neither in capacity to comprehend instruction, nor in docility to adopt it. If we find a skilful mason, can we suppose, that he would execute the plans of genius with more difficulty than the rude conceptions of ignorant caprice? If the ploughman can draw out his furrow, in an uncurved line, for a quarter of a league, would he unwillingly pursue an improved system of husbandry?* If the mariner have the courage and the skill to conduct his vessel through

* De Tott, v. iv, p. 118.

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the dangers of navigation by the mere information of his senses, would he become less capable if his efforts were aided by principle, and directed by science? If the mechanic, with a rude instrument, can fashion matter so as to answer useful purposes, would he relax in his ingenuity if the difficulties of labour were removed by better-adapted methods? Their aptitude for improvement is unquestionable: the industry which can persevere through rugged paths beset with brambles, would move on with increased rapidity over a smooth and level road. Let it not then be said, that *because the Turks believe in predestination* * they necessarily resist instruction; nor let us suppose, that because they find their way in the dark, they must necessarily become blind upon the approach of light.

Such has been, and still continues to be, the contrariety of opinion on this subject, from which however we must form our judgment as to the rank which the Ottomans

* "Perpetually heated with the fever of predestination, they despise whatever is not agreeable to the manners of their nation; the necessary result of which is pride and ignorance." (De Tott, Preliminary Discourse.)

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hold in the scale of civilization, that it becomes, not merely a matter of curious inquiry, but of indispensable necessity, to review the progress which they have made in the various branches of learning, to examine into the actual state of their literature, the theory and practice of the elegant and useful arts, and to survey the establishments existing among them for the improvement, the advantage, or the convenience, of life. Candour will perhaps compel us to acknowledge, that, though they be confessedly inferior to the Europeans in the severer sciences, which indeed have remained among them in the same state of infancy as among the Arabs from whom they received them, yet their literature is far from contemptible, their knowledge, though superficial, is general; and though in every department of art or of science there be much to improve, there is no one with which they are wholly unacquainted.

If there exist among the civilized nations of Christendom a sincere desire of introducing improvement into the institutions of the Turks, it is essential, that their prejudices be respected, however their errors may be lamented. Let their religion and their customs

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remain unchanged; let them but be taught principles, in order to correct and methodize what they already know, and the great work of civilization is performed. If, on the contrary, the study of principles be neglected, or overlooked, in the eagerness to introduce civilization, it is to be apprehended, that, instead of attaining the object, we shall but see a second instance of the desire of national improvement giving more developement to vicious habits, than to the useful or liberal arts.

Lan. guage. The Turkish language, considered in its greatest purity, unmixed with the Arabic or Persian, is only of secondary formation: it wants the essential characteristic of a primitive language, that of being intelligible in itself and reducible to its own simpel elements. Its expression is soft and musical, arising from the harmonious arrangement of the vowels, which are so modulated in the oblique cases and the other inflections, as to decline gradually according to a scale of proportions*. In its construction it is arti-

* The radical syllables of a word, or those syllables which reaimn unchanged through all its inflections, are those alone in which the vowels are ever written. The vowels expressed in the inflections are dependent upon the radical vowel immediately

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ficial and laboured, and its transpositions are more remote from the natural order of ideas than even Latin or German*. Its grammar

anterior, with which they are made to accord, conformably to those fundamental maxims of harmony which regulate the pronunciation of the Turkish language. This language admits of eight distinct vocal sounds, which may be expressed by the following letters of the French alphabet, *a, e, è, i, o, u, ou, eu:* their harmonic combinations take place in the relation of four to one, or of two to one. Thus *a, e, o, ou,* relate to the vowel *a;* and *è, i, eu, u,* to the vowel *è;* *a* and *e* to the vowel *e;* *o* and *ou* to the vowel *ou;* *è* and *i* to the vowel *i;* *eu* and *u* to the vowel *u;* which the following examples will sufficiently explain:

Zèman, time, *kech,* winter, *col,* the arm, *boulout,* a cloud, have respectively in the dative case *zèmana, kecha, cola, boulouta: èv,* a house, *kilid,* a lock, *guieuz,* the eye, *yuz,* the face, have in the dative *èvè, kilidè, guieuzè, yuzè.* In the accusative *zèman* and *kech* make *zèmane* and *keche; col* and *boulout, colow* and *bouloutou; èv* and *kilid, èvi* and *kilidi; guieuz* and *yuz, guieuzu* and *yuzu.* This harmony of the vowels is observed not only in the declension of nouns and pronouns, but also in the conjugation of verbs, and in the postpositions; it is evident, that without an accurate knowledge of its rules, the reading or pronunciation of the Turkish language, must present only intricacies and difficulties.

* An example from familiar conversation will shew the difficulty of Turkish construction:

Sana guièl dèmèyèn adèmin ardessra dychmè.

Tibi, adesto, non dicentis hominis post (tergum) ne cadas.

A general rule of construction is to place the word governed before the governing word; the nominative at the beginning of a phrase, and the verb at the end; the adjective before the substantive, and the oblique cases before the word on which they depend.

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is combined with such art as to appear the result of a profound knowledge of the principles of general language, and seems formed rather from the reasonings of philosophers than the casual combinations of a rude and savage race*.

The Turkish language discriminates with great nicety between certain and positive knowledge, or only conjectural and unauthenticated information, concerning the circumstances of an event or an action. One of the tenses in the conjugation of their verbs supposes in the speaker an absolute and precise knowledge of the truth of his assertion, unrestricted in any of its relations by doubt or uncertainty: if, on the contrary, the knowledge of the fact be merely acquired from report, and though supported by testimony or its own probability, be not known to the speaker from the evidence of his own senses or experience, he expresses, by a different inflection, the modification with which his report is to be received. I think it not unreasonable to presume from this peculiarity in their language, that the

* See Elémens de la langue Turque, par le pere Viguier, p. ix. Constantinople, 1790.

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primitive Turks felt the same reverence for truth as the Tartars and the Huns from whom they descended, and whose inviolable attachment to this fundamental virtue is so highly celebrated by historians*.

The common Turkish language, though sufficiently copious for the purposes of ordinary intercourse, is defective in terms of art, and expressions adapted to philosophical ideas.

The natural barrenness of their language was not, however, the only cause that the Turks borrowed so freely from the Arabians and Persians. When the religion and language of Mahomet were spread over the greatest part of Asia, it became a fashion for the poets of Persia, Syria, Egypt, Mauritania, and even of Tartary, to write in Arabic†. The Persians and Turks have reciprocally enriched and improved each other's language; and as the Persian language was cultivated and spoken by the Ottoman sultans, so the princes of Persia, and especially the family of Sefi, adopted the Turkish,

* See Sir William Jones's discourse on the Tartars. Works, V. i, p. 65.

† See Jones's Essay on the poetry of the Eastern nations. Works, V. iv, p. 538.

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which still continues to be the language of their court*.

The written Turkish language, from the mixture of unnaturalized exotics, necessarily exhibits the harshnesses of pedantry: but the language, as spoken in good company by men of learning, even by those accustomed to the study of the Persian and Arabian dialects, is free from those forced turns of expression which are admitted into, and even admired in, composition. Men of the greatest erudition, when conversing with their families or their friends, instead of those revolting difficulties which seem to indicate a barbarous idiom, not guided by rules or principles, adopt a language full of charms, whether considered as to the delicacy and nicety of its expressions, or the majestic fulness and regulated cadence of its sounds. No language is indeed better suited for colloquial purposes; but it is from the conversation of polished society alone, that a clear, just, and precise idea can be formed of the genius of the genuine Turkish language.

The Turks, the Arabs, and the Persians use characters fundamentally the same to re-

* See Jones's History of the Persian language, V. ii, p. 328.

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present their different languages; but the mere knowledge of these common characters by no means enables the Arab or the Persian to pronounce, or to connect them together in a Turkish manuscript, if he be not previously instructed in the meaning of the terms of this latter language. The continued omission of the points and stops; a single word of which the letters are separated without even any regard to the syllables; several words of different or contradictory meaning united and confounded so as to appear but one word; the vowels frequently suppressed, or when written, not having a constant sound, or even constantly the power of a vowel; the same character employed to express consonants which have not the least analogy, and are perfectly distinct in their pronunciation:—such are the difficulties which embarrass and discourage the student in his first attempts to obtain a knowledge of Turkish letters: but the Turk, in reading his mother-tongue, or the stranger who has familiarized himself with the language of conversation, discovers readily, and almost without effort, the vowels which are omitted, fixes the variable pronunciation of the written vowels and the consonants, re-unites a

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termination which is often separated from the principal word, distinguishes the line of demarcation between several expressions which appear to be connected together, marks the different members of a period, though it be not divided by stops or points, and comprehends the whole arrangement of a discourse. On the contrary, when he peruses the more laboured compositions, which are enriched with pure Arabic or Persian words, and sometimes even with whole sentences, he pauses not only to collect the meaning, but the true pronunciation, of the words: he feels the same difficulty which the Arabs and Persians experience in reading Turkish, and he hesitates and deliberates as he proceeds. The mere reading of the characters employed by these three nations pre-supposes therefore, without distinction of nations, an acquaintance with their respective idioms*.

* The characters of the English alphabet are insufficient to express the various sounds and powers of Turkish vowels and consonants, which, though only twenty-eight in number, possess thirty-six distinct sounds. They may be sufficiently represented by means of the letters of the French alphabet, partly in conformity with the usual French orthography, and partly according to a conventional modification of them. The necessity for such an extension of their powers must be apparent when it is considered, how impossible it would be to mark, by any character known in

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Mr. Eton says "it is astonishing that they have not perfected their alphabet:" but this reproach does not justly attach to the Turks; they have adopted the Arabian alphabet, which, for ages before the emigration of the Turkish nation, had been found sufficient for all the purposes of science and literature. The oriental scholar will exculpate the Turks from the charge of being farther removed from perfection in their alphabet than any other nation, and will not expect from them an effort to improve it.*

Europe, the power of the letter *ain*, which Meninski attempts to explain by describing it as the bleating of a calf: "vox vituli matrem vocantis." In the Turkish alphabet there are five vowels, and of these, two only, *elif* and *ain*, are always and without exception vowels; and so variable are their powers that both of them are made to express no less than eight distinct sounds. *Vav* and *yè*, when employed as consonants, are like our *v* and *y*, but, as vowels, they are each susceptible of four distinct sounds. *Hè* sometimes expresses *a* or *è* and sometimes *at* or *èt*. The consonants themselves are of so unfixed a nature, that the letter *kef* represents either *k*, *g*, *gui*, *y*, nasal *n*, or *n*.

* See Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 212. I venture to pronounce that De Tott, though he resided twenty-three years in Turkey, and was able to express himself in Turkish with tolerable fluency, yet possessed but a superficial knowledge of the language. His proficiency may be judged of by his own declarations; and there are many oriental scholars in England, who will easily detect the ignorance, or the exaggeration, of the following passages.—"When the whole life of a man is scarcely sufficient to

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Literature. A critic, deeply versed in oriental literature, has pronounced the languages of Asia to be no less suited to poetry than the genius of the inhabitants. The three learned languages of western Asia, while they differ essentially from each other in their formation and the order of their construction, are all distinguished by a peculiar character of beauty. The Persian excels in sweetness and melody: the Arabic in copiousness and strength: the Turkish in gravity and dignity. The first seduces and delights: the second is more vehement in its expression, and rises to greater sublimity; whilst the third attains and supports a graceful elevation. The Persian is more fit for the expression of dalliance and love: the Arabic for heroic poetry and the

learn to read well, little time remains to choose what he shall read for his instruction and advantage." (V. i, p. 9.) "No care can effect the improvement of the Turks, while the difficulties of their language confine all their learning to reading and writing." (V. i, p. 146.) D'Ohsson, a professed oriental scholar, in speaking of the Turkish language, and the difficulties of learning it, observes, that "an application of four months is sufficient for learning both to read and to write it, the Turkish orthography being much more simple and more conformable to the pronunciation than either the French or the English." See Tab. Gén. t. ii, p. 474. See also Sir W. Jones's opinion on this subject in the "dissertation sur la litterature orientale." Works, V. v, p. 525, 526.

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higher kinds of eloquence: the Turkish for didactic and historical compositions*.

It is remarked by Lord Bacon, that the fundamental difference of character observable in the history of the two most celebrated nations of antiquity, the Greeks and the Romans, is also discoverable in the peculiarities of their respective languages†. Latin was the language of a people chiefly conversant in war and public business, and, therefore, it is in its genius averse from the use of those compound words which are so frequent in the language of the Greeks. The habitual occupations of the Greeks, a people of great ingenuity and lively imagination, were the study of philosophy and the principles of the elegant and mechanical arts, which must necessarily occasion a multiplicity of compound terms; whereas a language more devoid of artificial combinations was better adapted to those civil and military transactions which constituted the highest employment of the Roman people. A similar characteristic difference may be observed not only in the language, but in the disposition and manners, of the Persians and Turks. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu indeed remarks,

* See Poes. Asiat. Comment. l. i, c. i, p. 360.

† De Augm. Scient. vi, i.

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that our language is deficient in those compound words which are very frequent and forcible in the Turkish. The remark has been even praised for its justness*; though to me it appears inaccurate, not less in its character of the English language, which is rich in compound expressions, than of the Turkish, which is distinguished by the great simplicity of all its words which are really of Scythian extraction. Lady M. W. Montagu, whose knowledge of the Turkish idiom must be estimated less from her own report than from the contradictory evidence contained in her writings, was not capable of discriminating, in the Turkish compositions of which she has given translations, the native from the foreign expressions; and Sir William Jones's opinion, decisive as it must be on questions of Arabian and Persian literature, can scarcely be considered, in the present instance, as coinciding with hers, for his notice of it is slight, and apparently introduced for the sole purpose of suggesting an amendment of some expressions in her translation. I venture therefore to oppose to it my own imperfect knowledge

* See Essay on the poetry of the eastern nations. Jones's Works, V. iv, p. 546.

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of oriental literature, which is little blended with either Arabian or Persian; and it is of the unmixed Turkish language that I mean to speak, when I assert the simplicity of its expressions.

The polite literature of the oriental nations, whether considered in the original compositions of the Arabians and Persians, or in those of the Turks, which are modelled from them with such scrupulous fidelity as to appear mere translations, is not to be appreciated by our rules. European writers principally study ease and perspicuity. They copy nature rather in her habitual operations, than in her occasional excentricities. In European poetry, those figures or metaphors which are introduced for the sake of ornament or illustration must be sparingly used, must be unforced in their application, and demonstrate genius in selecting, rather than diligence in discovering, or difficulty in appropriating, them. The Asiatics, on the contrary, impelled at pleasure by the capricious wantonness of a luxuriant imagination, form the most heterogeneous combinations, and bring the most remote and discordant imagery into a reluctant union in their compositions. The distinguishing

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features of the Asiatic style must of course be so modified, by a translation into languages so ill-adapted as ours to their expression, that hardly any idea can be formed of their characteristic peculiarities. The sumptuous variety of the diction, the subtle texture of the phrases, the elaborate disposition of the words, are lost in the transmutation. Nor is a knowledge of the language the only requisite to a competent judgment of oriental poetry: the European must carry to the perusal the views and the sentiments of an Asiatic. Indeed when all the sources of poetical imagery are so essentially different from those of Europe, it must be rash in any one to attempt a criticism on the subject, unless he have previously instructed himself, by experience or by study, in the natural history of Asia, the modes of life of the Asiatics, their civil and religious institutions, and the chief events of their history; to all which such frequent allusions are made by their poets and historians. Without this knowledge it is obvious, that the more recondite beauties, the intuitive observance of which exalts the interest and multiplies the charms of poetical composition, must entirely disappear. When it is

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recollected, that the Asiatics live in a country abounding in productions and phenomena which are in a great degree confined to their own continent, and that not only the properties of nature, but the customs and habits of the people, differ so essentially from those which our peculiar civilization has introduced among us, it must be evident, that many images which are distinct to them, may appear confused to us; that what they deem apt and familiar, we may think incoherent and remote; what they prize as bold, we may consider rash; what they admire as accurate, regular, gay, or sublime, we may reject as extravagant, abrupt, luxuriant, or hyperbolical. A comparison which frequently occurs in Persian poetry is that of the slender form of a young girl with the box-tree, which, to those who have formed their idea of this tree from the stinted shrub which creeps round the borders of a parterre in English gardens, must appear unnatural and ridiculous, though highly appropriate to the Asiatics, who see it rise in their forests into the most graceful and delicate proportions*. Amriolkais, an Arabian

* See Poes. Asiat. comment. cap. vii. Jones's works, V. ii, p. 489.

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poet, describes " the taper and delicate fingers of his mistress, sweetly glowing at their tips, like the worm of Dabia creeping in the sand." But who can understand these allusions, unless he be informed, that it is a general custom with the women in the East to tinge the extremities of their fingers with a dye called *henna*, and that hence arises the propriety of comparing them with the crimson head and long white body of the sand-worm?

" Many of the Eastern figures are common to other nations, but some of them receive a propriety from the manners of the Arabians who dwell in plains and woods, which would be lost if they came from the inhabitants of cities: thus, the *dew of liberality*, and the *odour of reputation*, are metaphors used by most people, but they are wonderfully proper in the mouths of those who have so much need of being refreshed by the dews, and who gratify their sense of smell by the sweetest odours in the world." * Some of their similitudes, which are drawn from natural objects, even Europeans must confess to be just and elegant.

* See Essay on the poetry of the Eastern nations. Jones's works, V. iv, p. 530.

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Hafez, with the same enthusiasm as Shakspeare's Romeo, compares the ringlets of his mistress to the night, and her cheeks to the morn. "She shines through the darkness of the night like the lamp of the religious solitary." The blue eyes of a beautiful woman bathed in tears remind the Persian poet of a violet dropping with dew. They are not, however, so correct in all their allusions, for as they eagerly catch at objects of comparison, they often employ those in which there is scarcely any general similitude; as Hafez resembles the down forming about the lips of a beautiful youth, to the *houris* of Paradise sitting round the fountain Salsabil.

In love-poetry they delight in similitudes taken from nature. They compare the curling locks of their young girls to hyacinths, their cheeks to roses, their eyes, sometimes, because of their colour, to violets, and, sometimes, because of their sweet languor, to narcissuses, their teeth to pearls, their breasts to pomegranates, their caresses to wine and to honey, their lips to rubies, their stature to lofty shoots, their face to the sun, their hair to the night, their forehead to the dawn, and the girls themselves, from their graceful attitudes and motions, to antelopes and fawns*.

* See Poes. Asiat. Comment. cap. vii.

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It would be a task of no difficulty to select from the works of the oriental poets instances of all those beauties, whether of sublime description or of delicate allusion, which we admire in our best writers. Both the Greeks and the Orientals describe the beauties of nature, with which they are surrounded, with a vivacity which equals the original. They both drew from this source, instead of catching ideas from reflection; and both possessed, in a high degree, that fertile invention, that creative genius, which is the soul of poetry. If the observation be just, that whatever delights the senses must please in description, and that in describing what is agreeable, agreeable words present themselves of their own accord, it is not surprising, that poets, surrounded with all the luxuriance of nature, under the influence of an ardent imagination, should sometimes transgress those limits, which the severity of European criticism has prescribed even to the flights of poetical enthusiasm.

Hafez, in a strain of extravagance which the wildest passion of love can scarcely justify, says to his mistress; "If I might sleep for one night on thy bosom I would strike the heavens themselves with my lofty

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head: I would break the arrows in the hands of Sagittarius; I would snatch the crown from the head of the moon: I would trample on the globe of the earth with the foot of arrogance, and would ascend in the pride of my strength to the ninth heaven. But if, when there, I possessed thy beauty, if, in heaven, I could resemble thee, lovers destitute of help would pray to me for protection, and wretches worn with care should receive from me relief."

In some of the countries where the Persian language has been adopted for works of literature, and the Persian models have been imitated, the imitators have far outstepped the boldest strides of their prototypes. A poet of India, in addressing a Mogul prince, used the following bombastic expressions: "Whenever thou pressest the back of thy swift courser, the affrighted earth begins to tremble, and the eight elephants, the columns of the world, bend under the weight of thy ascent." Bernieri, an European, who was physician to the prince, and who had the honour to be near his person at the time, advised his highness to abstain from an exercise so prejudicial to the happiness of his subjects, who must neces-

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sarily feel alarm at such a frequency of earthquakes. "You are in the right," replied the prince, "and it is indeed for their sakes that I generally prefer taking the air in a palanquin." *

Personification, and that of the boldest kind, is the figure in which the Asiatics principally delight. In their writings every natural object assumes the powers and faculties of rational beings. Flowers, trees, and birds discourse familiarly together: the meadows laugh, the woods sing, the heavens are glad. The rose commissions the zephyr to bear her message of love to the nightingale, and the enamoured nightingale warbles back his affection for the rose. Not only such abstract notions as beauty, justice, joy, and sorrow, are embodied, but even the scimitar of a conqueror, studded with diamonds, addressing itself to the moon, says, "thou art my crown; and to the pleiads, you are my garment." Thus the immensity of nature is but as a vast theatre, in which every thing, however remote from sense and life, occasionally assumes a person, occupies the stage, and speaks with the human voice.

* See Bernieri de statu Imp. Mogolici. ap. Jones, V. ii, p. 352.

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Some of the more scrupulous Mahometans, offended at the wanton imaginations of their poets, in whose verses are so constantly repeated not only the delights of love, with all its desires, with its concomitants of anxiety and grief, of hope and joy, but also the pleasures of odours, of wine, and of feasting, have however reconciled themselves to the perusal by supposing in them an occult and mysterious signification. "If I am inebriated," says Hafez, "what remedy can be proposed? Bring me another cup that my senses may be wholly absorbed: whether it be a sin or a meritorious action, bring it." Of the true meaning of this and similar passages there is a great variety of opinion. Some maintain, that the extacy of divine love, from the inadequacy of human language to its expression, is compelled to borrow those images which have the greatest affinity with its conceptions; for since those who are inflamed with divine love are abstracted from the sense of the mind, nothing can more aptly represent such a state than intoxication by wine. The poets themselves give a colour to this interpretation in several passages of their works. "Thy head is not affected with the ebriety of love," says Hafez

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to the profane. " Hence! thou art drunk with the juice of the grape." It is, however, difficult to understand for what reasons the poets should wish to conceal virtue under such immoral disguises, and veil the beauty of piety and religion under the mask of gross and libidinous depravity.

It is not, however, wholly under such disguises that moral and religious instruction is conveyed in the poetical compositions of the Eastern writers. Reviczki highly commends the satirical works of Ruhi Bagdady, a Turkish poet; and from many others may be selected passages highly valuable for their morality and their elegance. The praises of the prophet Mahomet are described, in the beginning of the book *Bustan*, with a grandeur and brevity of expression truly sublime, and under images which offer to the mind an uncertain idea of something awful, magnificent, and infinite, which the narrowness of the human intellect can with difficulty conceive. " He was carried in one night high above the ætherial regions, there where the angels themselves are unable to ascend. He halted not in his celestial journey, even where Gabriel was compelled to pause. Keep on thy course, said the lord of the temple of

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Mecca to the bearer of the divine oracles, thou hast merited my perfect friendship; why dost thou hesitate to accompany me, and why breakest thou off our conference? There is no longer any footing for my steps, replied the arch-angel with humility, I stop there where my wings want power to carry me onwards. Should I dare presumptuously to proceed further, they would dissolve like wax before the brightness of thy glory. Can believers," says the devout poet, " who have so great a prophet for their guide, remain long immersed in the pollution of sin?"

" Human life," says one of their moral writers, " is but as the fever of ebriety, whose sweetness quickly evaporates, and nothing remains but its nausea."

" The ignorant die even before death: their bodies, though not inhumed, are but the sepulchres of their souls."

" There is nothing more great and useful than travelling. Leave therefore your country and travel. Water, unless it flow, cannot long retain its sweetness. Gold in the mine is only a clod of earth, and aloe-wood, in the forest where it grows, is but an ordinary tree."

Asia has been the theatre of the most me-

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morable events, and has been illustrated by a great number of experienced warriors, of wise counsellors, and of virtuous kings, whose actions, real or fabulous, are recorded in the writings of Asiatic historians, but in a style rather of mystic allegory than of simple truth. The Mahometans in general, and more especially the Turks, are passionately fond of history. The Ottoman historians, who have compiled their works from the authentic records of their own nation, however they may deviate in their style and manner from the more correct standard which has been established by European nations, have deserved the first praise which can be bestowed on historical compositions, that of fidelity and impartiality. They seem to have aspired rather at being useful to their fellow-citizens, than at gaining the favour of their princes by flattery and misrepresentation; for they ingenuously expose, and unreservedly censure, the vices of their sultans, and the rash counsels and injurious measures of their ministers. The Turks are not even destitute of books, in their own language, which treat of the history of foreign nations. Leunclavius mentions a work of Ahmed Molla, who lived in the reign of Soliman

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Chelebi, in which the actions of Alexander, king of Macedon, are recorded in measured stanzas. Much praise cannot however be bestowed on their communications in this department of literature, on account of the scantiness and confusion of their geographical and chronological information. Their acquaintance with dates is indeed so imperfect, that the Asiatics in general do not distinguish between the son of Philip, and a more ancient, or wholly imaginary, king, called Skender, whose marvellous exploits they ridiculously confound with those of Alexander the Great*. The Turks, as well as all other Mahometans, are unrestrained by their religion or the laws of their country in the pursuit of any study to which their inclination may lead them. The wisest perhaps are those who adopt the counsel which Abu Yusef, a learned Arabian, gave to his children on his death-bed, when he advised them to regulate themselves in the choice of their studies by their taste and inclination, and to avoid only judicial astrology, alchemy, and controversy; for the anxious anticipation of

* See Memoirs of the life, writings, and correspondence, of Sir W. Jones, 8vo. p. 544.

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the future serves only to aggravate the actual evils of life; riches are dissipated in the pursuit of an ideal source of wealth, and a captious investigation of truth itself, by encouraging the growth of scepticism, tends to subvert the security and to destroy the comfort of religious belief*.

Enough, it is hoped, has been said to demonstrate, that the Turks are not withheld from useful learning either by the principles of their religion, or an innate propensity to barbarism of which they have falsely been accused; and that, so far from contemning literature or the arts, there is perhaps no people among whom superior acquirements in general knowledge obtain greater distinction†. If this assertion be thought to require further proof, it may be found in the opinion of a Turkish poet on the subject. Nabi Effendi, an esteemed writer, who died about a century ago, and whose works have been translated by M. Cardonne and inserted in his miscellanies of Oriental literature, in a poem, addressed to his son, advises him to "consecrate the dawn of reason to the study

* See D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. voc. *elm*, p. 312.

† See Toderini, de la littérature des Turcs, t. 1, p. 4.

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of the sciences. They are of infinite resource," he says, " in all the occurrences of life. They form the heart, refine the understanding, and instruct men in their duties. It is by them that we arrive at dignities and honours. They delight us in prosperity and console us under adversity. It would be impossible to enumerate their advantages, or to possess them without exertion and assiduity. They are the daughters of labour, and it is through him alone that you can hope to obtain them. Endeavour therefore to adorn your mind with all kinds of knowledge. How immense is the distance between the learned and the ignorant! The brightest light compared with the thickest darkness, death compared with life, or existence with annihilation, express but feebly the interval which separates the man of instruction from the ignorant. Ignorance is the poisoned source of all the evils which afflict the universe. Blind superstition, irreligion, and barbarity, the destructress of the arts, march by her side, and baseness, shame, and contempt, follow in her train."

A renegado of the name of Ibrahim, encouraged by the grand vizir Ibrahim Pasha and the mufti Abd'ullah Effendi, first intro- Printing.

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duced a printing press at Constantinople, in the year 1727. The *fetwa* of the mufti, corroborated by the opinion of the first magistrates and most distinguished doctors, declares the undertaking to be of the highest public utility; but the *khatt'y sherif* of the sultan, Ahmed the Third, or letters-patent authorizing the establishment, shew a perfect conviction of the advantages of printing. The sultan felicitates himself that Providence has reserved so great a blessing to illustrate his reign, and to draw upon his august person the benedictions of his subjects and of Mussulmans to the end of time*. M. Ruffin, in the dissertation which he has prefixed to the memoirs of De Tott, asserts, that, "the *ulema* oppose printing, jealous of that pre-eminence which their science, such as it is, secures them over the people;" and that, "from this cause the nation is kept in ignorance, as the elementary manuscripts in every branch, from the dearness of copies and their small number, are insufficient to enlighten them." It is however a most certain fact, that the *ulema* publicly testified their approbation of the new establishment, and imposed no restric-

* Tab. Gén. t. ii, p. 500.

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tions on the press, except such as would naturally operate to the advancement of learning. Only the *koran*, and books treating of the law and the doctrines of the prophet, were forbidden to be printed; a useful and salutary prohibition, which, at the same time that it preserves religion in its purity, stifles, even in embryo, that jealousy with which M. Ruffin upbraids the *ulema**. In Turkey there is no scarcity of manuscripts; the great number of them, on the contrary, is supposed to operate as an impediment to printing: but the rudiments of knowledge do not yet exist there. Let these first be naturalized, or printing itself will be attended with no utility.

Husbandry and productions.

Turkey depends upon no foreign country for its subsistence. The labour of its inhabitants produces, in an abundance unequalled in the other countries of Europe, all the alimentary productions, animal and vegetable,

* M. Ruffin's remark is the more ridiculous, as the manuscripts containing that science, which gives the *ulema* their supposed pre-eminence, are not written in sacred and unintelligible characters, nor is the perusal of them forbidden to the people. The war against their pre-eminence may be even now carried on, without imposing a heavier tax on the public than the difference of price between a manuscript and a printed book.

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whether for use or enjoyment. The corn countries, in spite of the impolitic restrictions of the government, besides pouring plenty over the empire, secretly export their superfluities to foreign countries. Their agriculture, therefore, though neglected and discouraged, is still above their wants. Their corn, their maize, their rice, are all of superior quality: their wine and oil, though deprived of half their excellence by the unskilfulness and negligence of preparation, are sufficient, not only for the demands of an extensive consumption, but for the supply of several foreign markets. The large exportation of the most valuable merchandize, which they possess beyond the demand for the internal trade of the country, sufficiently proclaims their industry. Their silk, cotton, wool, flax, drugs, coffee, sugar, wax, honey, fruits, hides, tobacco, and other articles of commerce are distributed over the continents of either hemisphere; and the produce of their toil supports and embellishes the existence of those who reproach them with idleness. The capital of the empire, as the soil in its immediate vicinity is barren and ungrateful*, receives from the neighbouring

* See Dr. Wittman's Travels, p. 20. Olivier's Travels, v. i.

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villages, and from the surrounding coasts of both the seas which it commands, all the culinary herbs and fruits of exquisite flavour, which the most fastidious appetite can require; and from the Asiatic coasts of the Black Sea, all materials necessary for fuel, or for the construction of ships and houses.

Manufactures.

I know not whether Europe can equal, but certainly it cannot surpass, them in several of their manufactures. The satins and silk stuffs, the velvets of Brusa and Aleppo, the serges and camelots of Angora, the crapes and gauzes of Salonica, the printed muslins of Constantinople, the carpets of Smyrna, and the silk, the linen, and the cotton stuffs of Cairo, Scio, Magnesia, Tocat and Castambol, establish a favourable, but not an unfair, criterion of their general skill

p. 63. The circumstance of the poorness of the soil is not sufficiently attended to by travellers, who are offended at the neglect of agriculture *on the land side* of the city of Constantinople. "Voilà comme sont, et comme doivent être les avenues de la principale résidence d'un peuple, aussi paresseux et aussi ignorant, que dévastateur." (Voyage à Constantinople, p. 147.)

The shores on both sides the Bosphorus present a very different scene: the ground forms a chain of schistose hills, covered with vineyards and gardens, and beautiful trees and shrubs; and the vallies, which are exceedingly fertile, are in the highest state of cultivation.

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and industry*. The workmen of Constantinople, in the opinion of Spon, excel those of France in many of the inferior trades. They still practise all that they found practised; but, from an indolence with respect to innovation, they have not introduced or encouraged several useful or elegant arts of later invention. They call in no foreign assistance to work their mines of metal, or mineral, or fossile substances. From their own quarries their own labour extracts the marble and more ordinary stone, which is employed in their public buildings. Their marine architecture is by no means contemptible, and their barges and smaller boats are of the most graceful construction†. Their

* "Is it not matter of astonishment," says Mr. Eton, "that, since the first establishment of their manufactory of carpets, they have not improved the designs, and particularly as they are not forbidden to imitate flowers? The same may be said of their embroidery, and of the stuffs made at Brusa, Aleppo, and Damascus." (p. 208.)

It must however afford equal matter of astonishment, that the designs of Turkey carpets are copied in England; and that, in our imitations of the Cachemire shawls, we should still adhere to the designs of flowers as grotesque as those on Turkey carpets.

† "We went on board the Sultan Selim with Mr. Spurring, the English ship-builder at Constantinople, and found her to be a remarkably fine vessel." (Dr. Wittman's Travels, p. 37.)

Dr. Wittman was present at the launch of a seventy-four-gun ship, which, he says, "being conducted in a very masterly manner, afforded us much pleasure." (p. 96.)

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foundery of brass cannon has been admired*, and their musquet and pistol barrels, and particularly their sword blades, are held in great estimation, even by foreigners.

Architecture.

The degradation of the arts into mechanical trades, from ignorance or neglect of scientific principles, is in no instance more discoverable than in their architecture. Their buildings are rude incoherent copies, possessing neither the simplicity nor unity of original invention. They are the attempts of admiration, ignorant of method, to emulate perfection and sublimity; and not the effect of that combination of results, into which a creative people have been successively led by a series of reasoning. Heavy in their proportions, they are imposing only from their bulk: the parts do not harmonize, nor are they subservient to one leading principle: the details are bad, both in taste and execution: the decorations, which are fantastical and directed neither by reason nor nature, have no use, no meaning, no connexion with

* Olivier says, that they were taught by the French to cast cannon; but Tournefort, a century before, had pronounced their cannon to be good. "They use good stuff, and observe a just proportion; but their artillery is as plain as possible, without the least ornament." (Vol, ii, p, 194,)

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the general design: there is nothing which indicates the conceptions of genius. But in these masses of monstrous magnificence, though we discover the vast inferiority of unprincipled practice to scientific method, we must still admire the skill and industry which have reared and constructed them. The builder may merit our approbation, though we ridicule the architect*. The superiority

* Cantemir says, "that in the mosque of Sultan Selim elegance and art so shine, that to describe its proportions must be acceptable to the sons of Dædalus. It is square and built with square stones, the length of the side being fifty, and the height seventy, cubits. The roof contains the same space with the floor. No arches are drawn from the angles, but the roundness of the roof rises from the walls themselves, so that from the point of the angles is drawn the arch of a circle almost horizontal." (p. 182.) "Sulimanié is built with so much art and elegance, that no structure deserves to be compared with it. This I have heard affirmed not only by Turks, but by foreigners of several nations." (Cantemir, p. 215.) "Sultan Ahmed excels Sancta Sophia in magnificence, though not in largeness." (Cantemir, p. 297.) But these are the descriptions of a Greek. The mosque of Sultan Ahmed is more correctly described by Lord Sandwich, who says, "It might justly be esteemed a most magnificent edifice, if it were built more according to the rules of architecture, of which the Turks have not the least knowledge. The figure of this mosque is a square, the roof of it composed of one large flat dome, and four of a less size; the large one is supported on the inside by four marble columns of an immense thickness, being more in circumference than height; which, though fluted, cannot be reckoned an imitation of any of the orders of

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of their workmen is chiefly apparent in the construction of the *minarets*, the shafts of which are surmounted by a gallery whence the people are summoned to public prayer. They do not indeed convey the idea of strength or solidity, the chief end of architecture, yet they please from their picturesque lightness, and the graceful boldness of their elevation.

The monotony of Turkish habits, and the austerity of their customs, chill and repress the energies of genius. Their cities are not adorned with public monuments, whose object is to enliven or to embellish. The circus, the forum, the theatre, the pyramid, the obelisk, the column, the triumphal arch, are interdicted by their prejudices. The ceremonies of religion are their only public pleasures. Their temples, their baths, their fountains, and sepulchral monuments, are the only structures on which they bestow any ornament. Taste is rarely exerted in other edifices of public utility, *khans* and *bezestins*, bridges and aqueducts.

architecture. All are much of the same model, differing only in extent and magnificence." (Travels, p. 128.) See a description of the Sulimanié in Grelot. Relation d'un voyage de Constant. p. 330. Paris 1681.

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Sculpture. Sculpture in wood or in stucco, and the engraving of inscriptions on monuments or seals, are performed with neatness and admirable precision. The cielings and wainscoting of rooms, and the carved ornaments in the interior of Turkish houses shew dexterity and

Painting. even taste. Their paintings, limited to landscape or architecture, have little merit either in design or execution: proportion is ill observed, and the rules of lineal and aërial perspective are unknown.

Chronology They reckon time by lunar revolutions, so that in the space of thirty-three years the Turkish months pass through every season. In religious affairs they are restricted to this mode; but in order to conciliate it with the revolutions of the sun, they are reduced to use the Gregorian calendar for civil purposes. As clocks were unknown at the birth of Mahometanism, the hours of prayer were regulated according to the diurnal course of the sun; and the custom is religiously preserved among the Turks, though the use of watches has become general. The civil day begins at sun-set, so that the hours which indicate mid-day and midnight continually vary. To remedy this inconvenience, and to ascertain the hours of prayer, the faithful

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make use of almanacs, which calculate, according to the degree of longitude of every province, the precise time of the hours of prayer.

Their knowledge of geography does not extend beyond the frontiers of their empire. Men in high public offices scarcely know the relative situation of their immediate neighbours, and have no conception that astronomy may be applied to ascertain geographical positions*. Geography.

* It has been said, that "it is an article of faith, from the mufti to the peasant, that Palmyra and Balbec were built by spirits, at the command of Solomon." (Survey of the Turkish Empire, p. 200.) The eccentricities of error are indeed infinite, and even greater absurdities have entered the heads of several half-learned Turks: but with respect to this particular article of belief, though I believe Wood mentions it as prevalent among the Arabs who had built their huts among the ruins of Palmyra, yet I may say, that the Turks are entirely ignorant of the existence of these cities.

Dr. Wittman's Journal, so far as relates to what he himself saw and understood, is a valuable collection of facts; and it is to be regretted, that he has admitted some anecdotes upon the authority of vague and popular report. I do not particularly allude in this remark to the following one, though I question the accuracy of it, from knowing that the interpreter, Mr. Vinchenzo, was too ignorant, even of the Turkish language, to communicate intelligibly the substance of such a conversation as General Koehler held with the grand vizir.—"The general told his Highness, among other particulars, that the earth was round. This information caused no small degree of surprise to the Turkish minister;

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Astrology. Astrology, even in the estimation of the common people of most countries in Europe, is expunged from the list of sciences. This phantom, which has so frequently in former ages drawn men from the blameless tenor of life, and allured them to the commission of crimes, still influences the public councils, and interrupts the private happiness of all classes in this nation*. The *munedjim bashi*, chief of the astrologers, is an officer of the seraglio, or sultan's household, and is consulted on all occasions which relate to the health, the safety, or the convenience, of the

and it appeared, by his reply, that he was disposed to doubt the truth of the assertion. 'If,' he observed, 'the earth is round, how can the people, and other detached objects on the half beneath, be prevented from falling off?' When he was told, that the earth revolved round the sun, he displayed an equal degree of scepticism, observing, that if that was the case, the ships bound from Jaffa to Constantinople, instead of proceeding to that capital, would be carried to London, or elsewhere." "So much," concludes Dr. Wittman, rather too generally perhaps, "so much for the astronomical and geographical knowledge of a Turkish statesman." (Travels, p. 133.)

* I remember that the Abbé Beauchamp mentioned, in a company where I was present, that, when passing through Aleppo on his return from Bagdad, the pasha, having heard of his arrival, and knowing his reputation for astronomical learning, sent to inquire *what means might be employed with success for the recovery of a favourite horse, which had wandered into the desert a few weeks before.*

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sultan. It is even considered essential to the public welfare to follow his opinion in determining the day, or the precise instant, when any important public business is to be undertaken; such as the march of an army, the fitting out or the sailing of a fleet, the launching of a ship of war, the laying of the foundation-stone of a public building, the conferring of any new dignity, and especially the appointment of a grand vizir. The Ottoman sultans religiously perpetuate this custom, which was delivered down to them by the caliphs, notwithstanding its repugnance with the general spirit and positive institutions of the doctrine and law of the prophet, who expressly denominates astrology a false science, and stigmatizes its professors as liars*.

It is an acknowledged fact, that astronomy was extended and improved from the studies and observations of the Arabian philosophers, who, as is evident from existing monuments, inquired into the magnitudes, the intervals, the courses and wanderings, of the heavenly

* See Tab. Géa. t. i, p. 416. Dr. Wittman asks, "Can such a people be formidable?" To which I do not scruple to answer affirmatively: for the greatest and most formidable nations, even to no very remote period in modern history, have believed in the influence of the stars on human actions.

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bodies; yet perhaps their principal inducement to the pursuit was not so much a scientific spirit of discovery as a desire to unravel, together with the intricacies of the planetary system, the order of providence in the moral government of the universe. Many of the caliphs are famed for their attainments in astronomical learning, but from their imperfect and unsteady views of the nature and limits of the human intellect, they were less anxious to ascertain the revolutions of the heavenly bodies and to discover the laws of their motions, than to predict from their changes and aspects the fate of kingdoms and monarchs, and even of families and individuals. The Turks possess at least sufficient astronomical knowledge to enable them to indicate in their almanacs the courses, revolutions, and eclipses, of the sun and moon; and it must be imputed to a stubbornness of zeal, that their theologians have decided, that, in a religion which is supported rather by testimony than its own intrinsic evidence, any improvements in science do not obviate the necessity of living witnesses to determine the appearance of the new moon which regulates the *ramazan*, and the principal festivals of the Mahometan church.

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I have constantly observed, that they consider the skill of a physician as of the nature of sorcery, and expect from him solutions of difficulties which could be obtained only by supernatural means. I have read of a physician, who acquired great reputation with his patient from ascertaining the nature of his food by the motion of his pulse: and every pretender to medicine is expected to announce, from the first visit, with the precision of a soothsayer, the minute when death, or a favourable crisis, is to relieve his patient. Medicine.

Their surgery is rude, from want of science, of skill, and of instruments. But though Christian surgeons are in general employed by persons of rank, there is a Persian at Constantinople, who has acquired great reputation, even among the Franks, for setting dislocated bones*. Surgery.

In navigation the Turks are, in my opinion, equal to the Greeks in address, and superior Navigation.

* "Sitôt qu'un barbier sait un secret, il s'érige en medecin." (Spon, Voyage, p. 205.)

The bastinadoe, according to De Tott, enters into the Turkish pharmacopeïa. A pasha had honoured a European merchant with his intimate friendship: the merchant had a fit of the gout; *the pasha had studied a little physic*, and desirous of curing his

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to them in courage and perseverance*. I judge of both, not from their evident inability to conduct their ships of war, a task to which neither of them are equal, but from their management of the smaller coasting vessels, to which both are familiarized, and in which they are by no means inexpert. I have at different times crossed the Black Sea and the Archipelago in Greek and Turkish boats, and have observed the character of both people in danger and in escapes, in seasons of fair and tempestuous weather. I have admired the equanimity of the Turk; but should be cautious of trusting my safety another time to the bragging temerity and

friend, directed two of his domestics to give him fifty blows on the soles of his feet. The merchant, though he would willingly have dispensed with the administration of the medicine, *found it deserving praise*, for it soon effected a perfect cure. (Memoirs, V. iv, p. 109.)

Since the former edition of this work, I have been so fortunate as to meet with a more correct copy of the prescription in the memoirs of the Chevalier d'Arvieux. (t. i, p. 72. Paris 1735.)

* The propriety of my assertion on this subject has been questioned. It is, however, confirmed by the testimony of Dr. Pouqueville, who was passenger on board a Greek vessel, commanded by Captain Guini, of the island of Spezzia, whose inhabitants, and those of Hydra, have the reputation of being the best sailors in the Archipelago. "Tant est grande la maladresse des matelots Grecs, qui ne le cèdent presqu'en rien aux Turcs en fait de navigation." (Voyage en Morée, t. i, p. 530.)

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unavailing despondency of a Greek *reïs*. I embarked for Constantinople, with two other gentlemen, at the port of Varna on the Black Sea, in the month of November. Our voyage was tedious, but attended with no danger, till we incautiously made towards the mouth of the Bosphorus on a stormy night. I cannot describe the consternation and the dismay of the crew, when, soon after midnight, they observed the land at no great distance ahead. We might have avoided it by the common manœuvre of going about; but the sea ran high, and every object was seen through the medium of their fears: confusion prevented the execution of the necessary orders; their intercessions to heaven were interrupted by curses on the passengers, to whose bad fortune they attributed the effects of their own negligence. The pilot was the only Turk on board; and he alone was steady: he alone animated the people to exertion by example and authority, and in a single tack we found ourselves out of danger*.

* They had undertaken the voyage with some unwillingness, as the Black Sea, during the winter, is much more stormy than the Propontis and Archipelago. From Eneada to the Capes of the Bosphorus there is no harbour, so that many of the boats of those who dare to navigate during the five winter months, are

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On a former occasion I had crossed the Black Sea, from Odessa to Constantinople, in a Greek passage-boat. As we approached the promontory of the Hœmus, a thick fog arose from the vallies and defiles of that chain of mountains, and spread over the sea, so as to prevent our ascertaining the bearings of the coast. In this state of anxious uncertainty an expedient was resorted to, which, I apprehend, is peculiar to the Greek nation. The cabin-boy, the youngest, and therefore probably the most innocent, person in the vessel, brought a censer with incense, and visited every corner of the boat, and perfumed every passenger, calling for the interference of heaven in our behalf, by incessantly repeating the *kyrie eleyson*. The *clavous*, or pilot, was appointed, because of his age and experience, to lower down into the sea a hollow gourd, or pumpkin, in which was fixed a lighted taper; and we looked, with devout confidence, for the miraculous dispersion of the fog. The approach of evening prevented

dashed by the north-north-east and north-west winds against the rocks and sands of the southern coast. Their vessels are of the kind called *saïques*, which are so constructed as not to be able to keep the sea when the wind is strong; and they are obliged to bear away right before the wind, and run for a harbour.

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the full effect of the miracle; but, providentially, it was calm, and the sea was smooth. Our *reïs*, a profligate scoundrel in fair weather, chid the boy with some severity for omitting to light the lamp which ought to have been burning in the cabin before the tutelary saint of the vessel. "I am the more attentive to this duty," said he, "since a circumstance happened to me, which I shall never forget. I was sleeping on the deck, in a harbour, with my people all round me. In the middle of the night I was awakened by some smart blows applied to my shoulders: I started up, and saw a venerable personage, with a flowing beard as white as snow, whose countenance expressed anger, and who continued beating me, in spite of my tears and intreaties, till my body was one continued bruise, and I fainted under the discipline with anguish and terror. When I recovered I found the people still sleeping; they had heard no noise, and had seen nobody; and it was not till I went into the cabin to restore myself by a glass of *raki*, that I discovered the lamp untrimmed, and confessed the justice of the punishment inflicted upon me." Devotion immediately became the order of the day; and every one

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doubled his evening prayers, and multiplied his crossings and prostrations. An unfortunate "esprit fort," who, while we were at anchor in smooth water, had quoted Voltaire, a name of the same import as Antichrist, was shunned as infectious, and left to perform his solitary, but sincere, penance; whilst the pious circle hung upon the lips of his opponent, listened with edification to the crudity of his reasonings, and evinced their faith by a submission to all the absurdities of his legendary histories.

Commerce. When the minister Colbert inquired of the French merchants in what manner government could best interpose for the benefit of commerce, they advised him to leave to their own management the care of their own interests. The maxim which that enlightened statesman adopted, from a conviction of its utility and its importance, is followed, unconsciously indeed, by the Turks, from its coincidence with their inertness and apathy. No restrictions are laid on commerce, except in the instance of a general prohibition of exporting the articles necessary for the support of human life to foreign countries, especially from the capital, where alone it is rigorously

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enforced; and this impolitic restraint will no doubt be removed, when the Turkish government shall become sensible, that what is intended as the means of securing abundance, is in fact the sole cause of that scarcity which is sometimes experienced. With this one exception, commerce is perfectly free and unfettered. Every article of foreign, or domestic, growth or manufacture is conveyed into every port, and over every province, without any interference on the part of the magistrates, after payment of the duties. On this subject I speak from actual experience, and may appeal to every foreign or native merchant in Turkey for its general truth.

The ideas relative to trade, entertained by all ranks in Turkey, if they are truly represented by Mr. Eton, would appear no less narrow and absurd than all their other opinions. "We should not trade," say they, "with those *beggarly* nations who come *to buy of us rich articles of merchandize* and rare commodities, which we ought not to sell to them: but with those who bring to us such articles without the labour of manufacturing, or the trouble of importing them on our part. *Upon this principle* it is, that Mocha coffee is prohibited to be sold to

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infidels."* Without presuming to question the accuracy of this representation (of which indeed it is difficult to ascertain the precise meaning) we may be allowed to ask, who among the Turks have ever held such language.—Is it the law? The law interdicts commerce with no nation.—Is it the governors or magistrates? They exclude no foreigner from their markets.—Is it the Turkish proprietor? He confounds all Europeans under the general name of Frank, and knows no other distinction.

Roads and travelling.

The high roads in Turkey are rarely traversed by individuals for other purposes than those of business. The caravans of merchants, both in Europe and Asia, are composed of horses and camels; and merchandize is transported, by these conveyances, from the Hungarian frontiers to the Persian gulph. Wheel carriages are not unknown, but are disused from their not being adapted to the nature of the country.

Couriers.

The Tartars are public couriers, much respected for their good conduct and fidelity. Their name by no means indicates their origin, as they are taken indifferently from

* Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 238.

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all the provinces in the empire, and are distinguished by the Tartar *calpac*, which they wear instead of the turban. They are strong and hardy; and perform their journies with remarkable celerity. As there is no such establishment as a general post, a certain number of these Tartars are attached to the court, to the army, and to the governors of provinces, and are occasionally despatched to all parts of the empire. The post-houses in the European part of the empire, through which I have travelled, are well served with horses, and every requisite accommodation is afforded to the Tartars, which their habits of life require*.

* Mr. Griffiths, in order to obtain a knowledge of genuine Turkish manners, travelled in the character of a Greek. He complains of the boorish behaviour of these Tartar guides; but he should not complain, since he chose to assume a character as little respectable as that of a wandering Jew in our country. A gentleman, who in travelling supported the dignity of his character, speaks of them as I have always found they deserved. "La bonne foi avec laquelle ce Turc fit accord avec nous m'a frappé." "Il mettoit à nous procurer ce qu'il nous falloit un zèle incroyable, étant plus fâché que nous, lorsqu'il nous manquoit quelque chose." "Les Turcs offrent mille traits de probité pareille. Il y a des professions, où elle est comme un esprit de corps. Les *kiradjis* de Salonique transportent sur leurs chevaux 50, 60 mille piastres sans donner de reçus, et paient sans difficulté ce qui se perd en chemin." (Voyage à Constantinople, p. 134.)

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Abuse of power.

The most prominent feature in the Turkish establishments, and that which first forces itself upon the attention of the observer, is the abuse of power. Whether this abuse be moulded into that perfection of tyranny which is denominated despotism, has been differently determined by different authors. Their disagreement, however, arises rather from different conceptions of the meaning of the term, than from any variety of opinion as to the nature of Turkish policy. With us the word despotism has so odious a signification, that we connect with it, almost involuntarily, the ideas of violence and injustice: but despotism, considered abstractedly and in itself, is neither more nor less than pure monarchy, one of the three regular modes of administering government, not necessarily including any abuse of authority, or cruelty of proceeding, and differing from the most perfect system of liberty only in the circumstance of the legislative and executive authorities being both vested in one person, instead of flowing from the general will and collected wisdom of the society*. The ob-

* « Je suppose trois définitions, ou plutôt trois faits : l'un que le gouvernement républicain est celui où le peuple en corps, ou seulement une partie du peuple, a la souveraine puissance ; le

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jects, however, which the law and the power tend to promote, are, professedly at least, in both cases, the happiness of the community; calculated, in one instance, according to the nature and habits of the people, and in the other, rendered subservient, in a chief degree, to the maintenance and support of the monarchical establishment. Yet "under governments of this latter species, unless when some frantic tyrant happens to hold the sceptre, the ordinary administration must be conformable to the principles of justice; and if not active in promoting the welfare of the people, cannot certainly have their destruction for its object*."

"A despotism," says Sir James Porter, "I take to be a government in which there exists neither law nor compact, prior to the usurped power of the sovereign; a sovereign, on whose arbitrary will the framing or the execution of laws depends, *and who is bound neither by divine positive injunction, nor compact with the people.*" And comparing the Turkish

monarchique, celui où un seul gouverne, mais par des loix fixes et établies; au lieu que, dans le despotique, un seul, sans loi et sans règle, entraine tout par sa volonté et par ses caprices." (Esprit des loix, liv. ii, ch. 1.)

* Robertson's History of Charles the Fifth, p. 388, note.

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government with this standard, though he admit, that " it is not perfect, or totally exempt from despotism," yet he asserts it " to be much more perfect and regular, as well as less despotic, than most writers have represented it; in a word, to be much superior with regard to the regularity of its form, and the justness of its administration, as well as much less despotic, than the government of some Christian states*."

But though we admit this definition, as descriptive of despotism in theory, to be sufficiently correct, and allow to the full extent of the assertion, that it is moderated in its general practice by regularity of form and justness of proceeding, yet we can distinguish the Turkish government by no other name than that of despotism.

Despotism is in the *nature* and *principle* of a government, rather than in its actual and general practice†. The power of the monarch

* Observations on the religion, laws, government, &c. of the Turks, Preface, p. 14, 19.

† The *nature* of a government, is that which constitutes it what it is. Thus in a despotic state, it is essential that there be no law besides the will of the tyrant. The *principle* of a government, is that which supports and actuates it; and this in despotism is fear: for it can neither use, nor listen to, modification or remonstrance; it can only command and threaten, and must be obeyed.

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is not continually exerted in acts of violence: the great, in some degree above the reach of common law, are indeed exposed to all the caprices of the prince; but to the body of the people laws must be administered, conformable to the great principles of justice, or the state itself will be involved in dangerous confusion*.

Pure despotism, unmitigated in its exercise by any species of moral or physical restraint, to the honour of human nature be it said, is but an ideal existence, a metaphysical abstraction. Æsop the fabulist, and the president Montesquieu, when they would raise our abhorrence of so degrading a system, are obliged to delineate it, not as it is observed to subsist in human society, but by comparisons drawn from the ignorant or savage abuse of power over brutes or inanimate matter†. It would therefore be an un-

* "Il faut que le peuple soit jugé par les loix, et les grands par la fantaisie du prince; que la tête du dernier sujet soit en sureté, et celle des bachas toujours exposée." (Esprit des loix, liv. iii, chap. 9.)

† See Phædrus's fables, book i, fab. 3.

The following is the *chapter* in l'esprit des loix, entitled "idée du despotisme."

"Quand les sauvages de la Louisiane veulent avoir du fruit, ils coupent l'arbre au pied, et cueillent le fruit. Voilà le gouvernement despotique." (Liv. v, c. 13.)

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fair conclusion, that, because we characterize the Turkish government as a despotism, from an examination both of its nature and principle, we should therefore admit all its possible atrocities as really existing in practice.

"If by despotism," says Mr. Eton, "be meant a power originating in force, and upheld by the same means to which it owed its establishment; a power scorning the jurisdiction of reason, and forbidding the temerity of investigation; a power calculated to cramp the growing energies of mind, and annihilating the faculties of man, in order to insure his dependence; the government of Turkey may be most faithfully characterized by that name."* It is almost unnecessary to point out the incorrectness of this passage. The Ottoman national power indeed originated in force, was founded on conquest, and must still be upheld by force. But the power of the Ottoman sultans over their subjects, which is the matter of the present discussion, is as legitimate in its origin and its progress, as that of every other sovereign in the world. In its present state, so far from supporting itself by force, it appeals only to reason; the

* Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 17.

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reason indeed of the nation, which bounds investigation by the precepts of the *koran*. Mr. Eton's representation of its effects may perhaps be thought exaggerated, upon a more familiar acquaintance with the nation which is governed by it.

The Turkish government has been said to be free from despotism, because, in a despotic state, the law can be nothing but the will of the master, and because universal fear of the monarch is essential to its existence; whereas the sultan is bound by paramount religious law, and the army exerts a power which the sultan himself is constrained to fear. But the law, as it is called in Turkey (improperly, so far as it regards the monarch, unless we really deceive ourselves into the opinion of its divine origin), is but a code of maxims promulgated by the first despot, and transmitted to his successors, as necessary to uphold the existence of that species of tyranny which he himself had usurped. It is still the will of the despot, rendered permanent as an inheritance to his posterity, and it does not diminish or change the character of despotism. The mere terror of a name could never hold a people in subjection: an armed force at the disposal of the

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sovereign is necessary to insure its efficacy. But, because an army, however nearly it may approach to it, can never become merely a passive instrument in the hands of a monarch, is it therefore to be considered as counteracting or restraining his power, though it differ from other instruments only in its capacity of being seduced by selfish motives to swerve from the object of its institution? In the ordinary acts of government neither religion nor the army are any restraints upon despotism, and certainly not so much so, as the aversion to oppression and spirit of resistance implanted in the nature of man would be, if these restraints were removed. They do not then even mitigate despotism, except over themselves, and in no respect in its exercise over the people. But when these powers feel the oppression of tyranny, and interfere to alleviate it, despotism itself is overthrown, and a temporary anarchy is introduced*.

* " Un gouvernement modéré peut, tant qu'il veut et sans péril, relâcher ses ressorts ; il se maintient par ses loix et par sa force même. Mais lorsque, dans le gouvernement despotique, le prince cesse un moment de lever le bras ; quand il ne peut pas anéantir à l'instant ceux qui ont les premières places, tout est perdu : car le ressort du gouvernement, qui est la crainte, n'y étant plus, le peuple n' a plus de protecteur." (Esprit des loix, liv. iii, chap. 9.)

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Dr. Robertson says, " there can indeed be no constitutional restraints on the will of a prince in a despotic government; but there may be such as are accidental. Absolute as the Turkish sultans are, they feel themselves circumscribed both by religion, the principle on which their authority is founded, and by the army, the instrument which they must employ*." Montesquieu also is of opinion, that " religion may sometimes be successfully opposed to the will of an arbitrary prince." " The subject," he says, " will abandon his father, he will even murder him, if the despot orders it: but the bigot will not drink wine, however his prince may threaten or command him. The laws of religion are of paramount authority: they are imposed equally on the prince and on his subjects.†"

But what is the whole weight of the restriction which religion imposes on the actions of princes? It requires from them conformity to established rites and ceremonies. It indeed preaches virtue; but no religion subjects the moral conduct of governors to the judgment of the people. It addresses itself

* History of Charles the Fifth, p. 189.

† Esprit des loix, liv. iii, chap. 10.

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to the conscience of the individual, directly and immediately. Its language, to those who would interfere with its august functions, is, " let him among you, who is without sin, cast the first stone."

The Mahometan religion inculcates the reciprocal duties to be observed by the prince and his subjects; but though it teaches, it cannot enforce, a just administration of government. The only conditions imposed upon the sultan are the profession of the Mahometan faith, and conformity to the ceremonial of the Mahometan church; and though the practice of every regal virtue be more consistent with these duties, yet they are not incompatible with the exercise of the most atrocious tyranny.

The army, though it be granted, that it curbs the authority which it supports, yet restrains it only in the commission of such acts as immediately concern its own welfare or ambition. The prætorian bands in Rome, and the janizaries in Constantinople, though both in the most wanton manner have dethroned, murdered, and exalted princes, have never by their interference, either designedly or accidentally, mitigated the violence, or softened the severity of despotism.

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De Tott, in compliment to the theory of Montesquieu (a flattery which that dignified author would have disdained), has distorted even the hideousness of arbitrary power. Fear is the principle of a despotic government; and "the Turk, incited to violence by despotism, wishes, but fears, to commit murder, until intoxication puts him on a level with the despot." The indolent Turk indulges in the natural taste of reclining under the shade of great trees, "because despotism," which suffers him to pass on almost unwrinkled from infancy to decrepitude, "will not allow him to wait the growth of trees." "His compassion for brutes arises from the pride of despotism, which, while it confounds all beings, chuses its favourites from among the weakest." Thus we see the same person, alternately, the tyrant, and the slave of despotism; incited to violence by the possession of power, and deterred from exerting it by that very power, to which at the same time he himself is preposterously subject.

Honour, the leading principle in a monarchy, is unknown under despotism; and De Tott, in contradiction, I may say, to his own positive knowledge, denies even the

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existence of the word in the Turkish vocabulary.

De Tott seems desirous of paying such a compliment to Montesquieu, as that which the French philosophers, sent by the court of Versailles to measure an arch of the meridian in different parts of the world, paid to Newton on their return, when they had ascertained, *by their labours*, the accuracy of *his theory* respecting the true figure of the earth.

Our respect for Montesquieu cannot be diminished by an exposure of the disingenuousness of De Tott's admiration. The name and reputation of Montesquieu must be immortal; but our deference for his system, however ingenious, however reasonable, should never tempt us to abuse it like the bed of Procrustes, or to forswear the evidence of our senses in obedience to his authority*.

Montesquieu, probably misled by an author of the name of Perry, indeed says, that "honour is unknown in despotic states,

* Compare Esprit des loix, liv. iii, chap. 9, with Memoirs of Baron de Tott, Preliminary discourse, p. 8; Esprit des loix, liv. iii, chap. 8, with Memoirs, V. iii, p. 140. See also Memoirs, V. i, p. 62 and 207.

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where frequently there is no word even to express it." With respect to Turkey, the position is false. D'Ohsson, in refutation of De Tott, says, "those who pretend, that the word honour does not exist in the language of the Ottomans, prove only their own imperfect acquaintance with the idiom, and the manners, of this people. Otherwise how could they have been ignorant of those words which correspond with honour, dignity, reputation, consideration, and which are constantly used by the Turks in any discussion which relates to probity, honesty or justice*."

So much for the existence of the word: as for the sentiment of honour, as existing among the Turks, I would beg to know of those who do not admit its influence in a despotic country, upon what other principle they can account for the conduct of the Turks, in an instance related by Dr. Wittman. "On the 17th of June, discontents broke out among the janizaries, on account of the British troops under Colonel Stewart, and the corps of Turks commanded by Taher Pasha, being advanced in their front." If

* *Irz, namous, ichann, schuhhrath.* See Tab. Gén. t. iv, p. 374.

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this be not honour, I am at a loss to characterize it. But indeed wherever there is a sense of pride or shame, there must be a feeling of honour; and to suppose, that an army can exist without it, that men who are urged on to perform great actions without other recompence than the fame of their exploits should be insensible to honour, is too gross a contradiction to need refutation. The Prussian officer, who discharged his one pistol at the feet of the king, and shot himself with the other, rather than survive the infamy of a blow, expressed in the same moment an absolute submission to despotism, and the quickest sense of honour. The sentiment of honour, which is the rule of private conduct, is as pure and sacred in retired life, and under republican or despotical governments, as in monarchies. It however appears to me, that by honour, of which Montesquieu denies the existence under despotism, he means a principle different from those which I have described. He calls it the public virtue of a monarchy, the source of all vigour and all action, inherent in the very nature of limited government; which prompts men to support the privileges of their hereditary nobility, as of equal sanctity with the prerogative of the sovereign,

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and which urges others to claim distinction of rank and pre-eminence from their own personal merit. This kind of honour could not indeed be suffered in despotic countries, and it would disturb the economy of a democracy. Philosophically speaking, however, this sentiment of personal preference, notwithstanding its utility, is but a false honour: the principle of true honour, which leads to virtue from a contempt of vice, is not less pure from being wholly unconnected with it, and is not confined to any climate or any system of government.

Evils of despotism.

One of the evils, and by no means the least of those necessarily accompanying despotism, is, that it represses the spring of improvement, which there is in society. Whatever talents may have been called forth, during the struggle which despotism was making to establish its dominion, become stationary at best, or more probably retrograde, when once it has perfected its plan, and stretched itself out to repose on the summit of its power. We behold with wonder in the history of the world the empire of China, which has been arrested many centuries ago in its career of improvement, still resting upon its plan of imagined perfection, occupied only in sup-

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porting the sameness of its existence, and surveying with indifference the superior elevation of foreign knowledge. In every country where despotism is established, every art and every useful institution date from a period antecedent to its introduction. In no one, is it possible to trace the rays of science to one common centre in the zenith: the source of light is sunk beneath the horizon, and only a few scattered rays faintly point out some partial and imperfect method, followed without being understood. In process of time the evil becomes incurable; those who should apply the remedy are themselves contaminated*. "See," says Montesquieu, "with what eagerness the Russian government endeavours to throw off its despotism, which is become more oppressive to itself than to the people."† In despotic countries,

* "Toute la *différence* est que, dans la monarchie, *le prince a des lumieres*, et que les ministres y sont infiniment plus habiles et plus rompus aux affaires que dans l'état despotique." (Esprit des loix, liv. iii, chap. 10.)

† The memoirs of Baron de Tott present us with an interesting picture, in the fruitless attempts of Sultan Mustafa to ameliorate the system of his government. He was sensible of the existing evils: a wonderful progress, when we consider how far he was removed from information by his rank and education. "Had he lived," says De Tott, "he would have sacrificed even his despotism," but in the disease of despotism *the patient*

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if arts continue to be practised, there is no science in the method: the artisan knows not the principles on which he proceeds; he gropes on in routine, but stumbles into the most ridiculous absurdities when he quits the beaten track. To the inherent quality of despotism itself, and not to any natural incapacity, we are to attribute all that is incoherent and grotesque in Turkish knowledge.

D'Ohsson, having observed the mischievous tendency of some of the ramifications of despotism, attributes to them the evils which afflict the Turkish empire, and does not penetrate as far as the radical cause. "The law," he says, "which subjects the minor princes of the blood to a state of imprisonment, enervates all the elasticity of the heart and the mind. Its influence extends to the people, and strikes all with sterility; suspending, as well with the subjects as the prince, all progress in the arts and sciences." But this cause is evidently inadequate to the effects produced: for, in a despotic country, the public conduct, even of a reigning prince,

cannot minister to himself; he flounders under his own u
ness, but he cannot shake it off: he may scarify his bloated substance, but he deforms instead of healing it.

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can never operate as an example to his subjects; and still less can the conduct, observed towards him during his minority, influence the public manners. The assertion is further disproved by an appeal to history; for the evils which oppress the country, and which D'Ohsson enumerates as originating in a law made under Soliman the First, did equally exist in all the preceding reigns*.

The Roman empire groaned under the same evils, and sunk to the same debility. Enlightened and virtuous despotism may procure a transient felicity; but at the same time when the Roman historians were celebrating the blessings of Trajan's government, "the splendour of the cities, the beautiful face of the country, cultivated and adorned like an immense garden," the latent cause of decay and corruption, "*the uniform government of the Romans*" was gradually reducing the minds of men to the same level, ex-

* Tab. Gén. t. ii, p. 483. "*Hence*, continues D'Ohsson, popular prejudices, or rather the superstitious respect of the nation for its ancient customs; the want of communication with Europeans; the slow progress of the press; the prejudice against foreign languages; the neglect of translating the works of European writers; the aversion to travel beyond their empire, and the system of not sending ambassadors to foreign courts."

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tinguishing the fire of genius, and causing even the military spirit to evaporate*.

In Turkey, even the most worthy members of society perform their duty coldly and officially; all tremble at the public censure, and dare not aspire to innovation or reform, lest they should expose themselves to the shafts of envy and calumny. Under despotism talents must remain insulated, the very nature of the government militates against the idea of an aggregation of knowledge, or a national fund of acquirements. That the Turks labour under no natural inferiority, there needs no argument to prove; and a testimony, by no means to be suspected when it condescends to praise, assures us, that

* Hadrian and the Antonines were themselves men of learning and curiosity, and the love of letters was fashionable among their subjects; yet, "if we except the inimitable Lucian, this age of indolence passed away without having produced a single writer of original genius, or who excelled in the arts of elegant composition." The *long festival of peace* contributed less to damp the military ardour, and stop the growth of military talents, than the natural jealousy of despotism, "Germanicus, Suetonius Paulinus, and Agricola, were checked and recalled in the course of their victories. Corbulo was put to death. Military merit, as it is admirably expressed by Tacitus, was in the strictest sense of the word, *imperatoria virtus*." (Gibbon, V. i, p. 5.)

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they possess "the bold and vigorous grasp of native genius*."

Practicability of improvement.

De Tott found in the Turks an aptitude and an eagerness for mathematical know-

* Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 87.—Climate and the government, in the opinion of De Tott, have formed this people such as he describes them. "The power of moral causes predominates over that of physical;" but, "under the yoke of actual tyrants, physical causes must regain their influence. The climate which the Turks inhabit relaxes the fibres, and perverts the effect of their prejudices, so far as even to make them rash, from a cause which, in a cold country, would have made them brave." (Memoirs, Preliminary discourse, p. 4.) It cannot certainly be thought unfair to confront with De Tott's reasoning, the moral and physical portrait of a Turkish subject of *Upper Egypt*, taken from common life.—"On peut dire qu'individuellement l'Egyptien est industrieux et adroit, et que manquant, à l'égal du sauvage, de toute espèce d'instrument, on doit s'étonner de ce qu'ils font de leurs doigts, auxquels ils sont réduits, et de leurs pieds, dont ils s'aident merveilleusement. Ils ont, comme ouvriers, une grande qualité, celle d'être sans présomption, patients, et de recommencer jusqu'à ce qu'ils aient fait à-peu-près ce que vous desirez d'eux. Je ne sais jusqu'à quel point on pourroit les rendre braves; mais nous ne devons pas voir sans effroi toutes les qualités de soldats qu'ils possedent; éminemment sobres, piétons comme des coureurs, écuyers comme des centaures, nageurs comme des tritons: et cependant c'est à une population de *plusieurs millions d'individus, qui possedent ces qualités*, que quatre mille Français isolés commandoient impérieusement sur deux cents lieues de pays! Tant l'habitude d'obéir est une maniere d'être comme celle de commander, jusqu'à ce que les uns s'endormant dans l'abus du pouvoir, les autres soient réveillés par le bruit de leur chaîne." (Denon, t. i, p. 322.)

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ledge; and if domestic tranquillity and external peace allowed an extensive and well directed study of the mathematics, they would, in a few years, be little inferior to any nation in Europe. No branch of science is of such universal application and such general utility, and no study so effectually roots out prejudices and inculcates method. On the mathematics depends the first great science without which all others are useless, the science of national defence: from the mathematics flow all public and private works, all that distinguish civilization from barbarism; and by them men are prepared for all situations in life. Without them even learning bewilders itself in the mazes of subtlety, and philosophy wastes itself in conjectures*.

* Mathematical knowledge must indeed have been in a degraded state, if we are implicitly to credit De Tott's account of the conference, which he held by command of the sultan, with the chief of the geometricians. "I modestly asked them, what was the value of the three angles of a triangle, *I was requested to propose the question once more*, and, all the learned having looked on each other, the boldest among them replied with firmness, "It is according to the triangle." "The ignorance of these pretended mathematicians," continues he, "needed no demonstration; but I must do justice to their zeal for the sciences; they all requested to be received into the new school, and no-

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thing was now thought of but its establishment." His scholars were "captains of ships, with white beards, and others of mature age;" and yet these men, though the charge of indocility is so unsparingly cast on the whole nation, "were able, *at the end of three months*, to work, in the field, all the problems which result from the four theorems of plane trigonometry; which was as much of this kind of knowledge as was required." The affectionate parting of the baron and his scholars does equal honour to both, and who, on reading it, will not spurn at the insinuation that the Turks are inferior to those men "whom Peter the Great taught to conquer the Swedes." "The vessel," says De Tott, "that was to convey me to Smyrna, had already weighed anchor, and set her sails, when several boats came about us, and I saw myself surrounded by all my pupils, with each a book or an instrument in his hand. Before you leave us, said they, with much emotion, give us, at least, a parting lesson: it will be more deeply impressed on our memories than all the rest. One opened his book to explain the square of the hypothenuse; another with a long white beard elevated his sextant to take an altitude; a third asked me questions concerning the use of the sinical quadrant; and all accompanied me out to sea for more than two leagues; where we took leave of each other with a tenderness the more lively, as it was unusual, and to me unexpected." (Memoirs, V. i, p. 204.)

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CHAPTER II.

CONSTITUTION OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

Multeka, or religious code of laws.—Canon-nameh, or imperial constitutions.—Authority and prerogatives of the sultan.—Laws of succession.—Princes of the blood.—The sultan's vicegerents.—Classes of the ulema.—Order of legal dignities.—Subordination of the priesthood.—Privileges,—and powers of the ulema.—Grand vizir.—Divan, or council of state.—Sublime Porte, or Ottoman cabinet.—Government of provinces.—Revenues of pashas:—their modes of life:—precariousness of their offices.—Reflections on the sultan's direct interference in government,—in administering justice,—in conducting war.—Subjection of the people.—Political, civil, and religious distinctions.—Means of redress against tyranny and oppression.

Multeka, or religious code of laws.

THE Ottoman empire is governed by a code of laws called *multeka*, founded on the precepts of the *koran*, the oral laws of the prophet, his usages or his opinions; together with the sentences and decisions of the early caliphs and the doctors of the first ages of islamism. This code is a general collection of laws relating to religious, civil, criminal,

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political, and military affairs; all equally respected, as being theocratical, canonical, and immutable; though obligatory in different degrees, according to the authority which accompanies each precept. In some instances it imposes a duty of eternal obligation, as being a transcript of the divine will, extracted from the registers of heaven and revealed to Mahomet: in others it invites to an imitation of the great apostle in his life and conduct. To slight the example is indeed blamable, but does not entail upon the delinquent the imputation or penalty of guilt; and a still inferior authority accompanies the decisions of doctors on questions which have arisen since the death of the prophet*. This sacred deposit is confided to the sultan in his character of caliph and chief imam; and he is invested with the sovereign executive command †.

* Of the first kind, are the interdictions of the use of wine, the flesh of hogs, the blood of animals, &c. &c.—Of the second kind, are the prohibitions against clothes made of silk, vessels of gold or silver, &c. &c.—and of the third, the opinions respecting the use of opium, coffee, tobacco, &c. &c.

† Le texte du *cour'ann* et celui du *hadiss*, recueil de toutes les lois orales de Mohammed, portent le nom de *nass*, qui signifie le texte par excellence, et leurs commentaires celui de *tefsir*. Le texte de tous les ouvrages théologiques et canoniques qui ont été faits d'après l'esprit de ces deux premiers livres, s'appelle

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On matters unforeseen, or unprovided for, by the first promulgators of the law, the sultan pronounces as the interest of religion, and the advantage or honour of the state require. The temporal power of Mahomet over his followers was founded solely on their persuasion of the divinity of his mission;* while that of the Ottoman sultans, and of the several chiefs who usurped dominion in the dismembered empire of Mahomet's successors, was derived from conquest or from hereditary pre-eminence, and was intrinsically independent of the Mahometan religion. As, however, the exercise of authority over Mussulmans can be justified only by the actual or presumed delegation of the

Canoonameh, imperial constitutions.

methn; les commentaires qui les accompagnent, *scherhh*; les explications qui en ont été faites depuis, *haschiyé*, et celles qui leur servent encore de développement, *talikath*. Le code *multéka* qui embrasse l'universalité de la législation religieuse est le résumé de cette immensité d'ouvrages. (Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 326.) For the history and more detailed account of the code *multeka*, see the introduction to the Tableau Général, p.—124.

M. Ruffin, on the authority of M. le Comte de St. Priest, denies that the *multeka* is a code, since it is only the sum of the opinions of an infinite number of commentators, who never made one single law. "If the *koran*," he says, "be not the code of the Mahometans, they have none, and have at most only a jurisprudence." (De Tott, Appendix, p. 41.)

* See Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 264.

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caliphs, it naturally follows, that, in all nations which have adopted the religion of Mahomet, the political system is modified by laws originally made for the support and propagation of the faith, and is itself subordinate to the religious constitution. The theological law contains a few general precepts, though it by no means prescribes the form or mode, of government, in its minute branches, or in cases of ordinary occurrence; and it expressly concedes to the legislation of the prince an absolute authority on all matters which do not relate to the belief, or the practical duties, of religion*. His power, in the opinion of their most learned civilians, is restricted only in the observance of the religious institutions; for, in civil and political matters, the law admits such a latitude of interpretation, that his will alone is sovereign, and is subject neither to control nor censure. The code *multeka* is, however, alone considered as paramount law: the imperial decrees (or *khatt'y sherif*), of which a general compilation was made by Sultan Soliman under the name of *canon nameh*, or *teshrifat*†, are considered as emanations from

* See Tab. Gén. Introduction, p. 44.

† See Cantemir, p. 174, note 1. Toderini, t. i, p. 34.

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human authority, are susceptible of modification, or even of abolition, and remain in force only during the pleasure of the sultan or his successors. They cannot however be revoked or annulled on slight grounds, or without sufficient reason; for it is believed by the multitude, that what is said or done by the sultans is so firm as not to be retracted on any human account.

Authority and prerogatives of the sultan.

Thus, by the constitution of Mahometan government, not only the executive, but the legislative, power essentially resides in the sovereign. His spiritual and temporal authority are indicated, in the language of the jurists, by the titles of *imam* and *sultan**. The Ottoman emperor, who unites under his sacerdotal authority all the Mahometan princes and states of the four orthodox rites, assumes, in virtue of this prerogative, the titles of *padishah-islam* (emperor of islamism), *imam-ul-musliminn* (pontiff of Mussulmans) and *sultan dinn* (protector of the faith)†.

The law, indeed, requires that the *imam* shall be of the race of the Koreish, the descen-

* See Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 257.

† See Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 263. The *sunnys*, or orthodox mussulmans, are those who follow the rites of the four *imams* Hanifé, Schafiy, Malik and Hanbel.

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dants of Abraham by Ismael. The defect in the title of the Ottoman sultans is, however, supplied by the resignation of the caliphat, and the cession of all the other rights of the *imameth*, to Selim the First, by the last caliph of the house of Abbas and the *sherif* of Mecca, both of whom were descendants of the Koreish by the families of Haschim and Ali, the kinsmen of Mahomet. Independently of these titles, the Mahometan doctors acknowledge the spiritual rights of the reigning family to be leagally established by their power and the success of their arms*.

At court, when mention is made of the sultan, the appellation of *alem-penah* (refuge of the world), is usually added to his title of *padishah*, or emperor. His loftiest title, and the most esteemed because given to him by the kings of Persia, is *zil-ullah* (shadow of God); and the one the most remote from our manners, though common among all ranks of his subjects, is *hunkiar* (the manslayer); which is given to him, not, as has been asserted, because "in the regular administration of government, he executes criminal justice *by himself*, without process or forma-

* See Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 268.

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lity*," but because the law has invested him alone with absolute power over the lives of his subjects. The Turkish casuists indeed attribute to the emperor a character of holiness, which no immoral conduct can destroy; and as he is supposed to perform many actions by divine impulse, of which the reasons or motives are inscrutable to human wisdom, they allow, that he may kill *fourteen* persons every day, without assigning a cause, or without imputation of tyranny†. Death by his hand, or by his order, if submitted to without resistance, confers martyrdom; and some, after passing their lives in his service, are reported to have aspired to the honour of such a consummation, as a title to eternal felicity‡.

The sultan is the universal proprietor of all the immovable wealth in the empire, except the funds destined to pious purposes. He is however restrained, both by law and

* Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 30.

† See Cantemir, p. 71, note 2. Toderini, t. i, p. 35, note i. "Les vices ni la tyrannie d'un imam n'exigent pas sa déposition." (Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 288.) Rycaut says, that "the grand signor can never be deposed or made accountable to any for his crimes, whilst he destroys, *causelessly* of his subjects under the number of *a thousand* a day." (Present state of the Ottoman empire, p. 7.)

‡ Rycaut, p. 8.

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custom, in the exercise of this right over the property of subjects not immediately employed in the service of government, and it is only in default of natural heirs that such property lapses to the crown*. The sultan is also the sole fountain of honour: from his pleasure flows all dignity, all nobility, and all power. Birth confers no privilege: he raises to honour, or debases, whom he pleases: he seldom interposes his authority in the ordinary course of affairs; but he decides upon the conduct of his ministers or his lieutenants with military promptitude, and with military severity; and indeed the constant interference of absolute authority, threatening in its denunciations, and rigorous

* Sir William Jones (V. iii, p. 511.) answers in the negative the question, "whether, by the Mogul constitution, the sovereign be not the sole proprietor of all the land in his empire, which he or his predecessors have not granted to a subject or his heirs," because, in the opinion of the lawyers and in the language of the *koran*, the absolute right of ownership is admitted in proprietors, and acknowledged to descend to their heirs. "Even escheats," he says, "are never appropriated to his (the sovereign's) use, but fall into a fund for the relief of the poor." The law, which is common both to the Mogul and the Ottoman empires, is, indeed, explicit on this point, but it does not seem to affect the question of the sovereign's right of universal proprietorship, for as both empires were gained by conquest, it follows, that all lands must have been originally held as grants from the sovereign.

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in its exercise, seems necessary for enforcing the obedience of governors, invested with sovereign authority, throughout an empire so widely extended*.

Laws of succession.

It is a constitutional maxim that the Ottoman empire never falls to the spindle†. The succession is established in the two principal branches of the families of the Oguzian tribe, the Othmanidæ and the Jenghizians. In case of failure in the Ottoman race, a successor to the empire must be chosen from the sovereign family of the Crim Tartars, which is derived from the same common stock‡.

* Mr. Eton says, (p. 27.) "the forms of administration are purely military. This is so thoroughly the case, that the grand seignior is still supposed to reign, as formerly, in the midst of his camp; he even dates his public acts from his *imperial stirrup*." I have searched with some care for the authority on which Mr. Eton quotes this fact; but I am still compelled to leave to him the "onus probandi."

† "Point de félicité," says the prophet himself, "point de salut pour un peuple gouverné par une femme! Ces paroles sont devenues depuis une loi fondamentale, et une des premières maximes de l'état." (Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 275.)

‡ See Cantemir, preface, p. 14, 15. Rycaut, p. 58. Mignot, t. ii, p. 442. Gibbon however observes (V. xii, p. 58.), that "the kindred of the Ottomans with the Tartar khans of the house of Zingis appears to be founded in flattery rather than in truth." Marsigli (t. i, p. 7.) asserts, that "the Tartar branch, according to the Ottoman constitution and laws, has no title to the throne; but that the inheritance, in case of the extinction of the male race of sultans, would pass to the eldest son of the

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The empire does not descend in a right line from father to son, but devolves to the oldest surviving male of the Imperial family; as in the instance of the reigning emperor, Selim the Third, who ascended the throne to the exclusion of his cousins, the sons of Abdulhamid, his immediate predecessor. This law, which was intended to guard against the inconveniences of a minor's reign, is so far religiously observed; but the right of seniority, even among princes of mature age, has not always been respected. Osman, the founder of the monarchy, was the first who deviated from its observance: on his death-bed he appointed his second son Orkhan to succeed him, instead of Aladin Pasha, who was set aside, because of his love for retirement, and his attachment to speculative studies*.

eldest daughter, of the last of the Ottoman sultans." Cantemir, however, expressly says, that "they acknowledge no other heirs than those of the male line;" and indeed Marsigli should have known, that the male children of the sultanas, or princesses of the blood, are condemned to death from the instant of their birth. (See Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 286.) Mignot records a curious fact, that in the reign of Ibrahim (A. D. 1640.) the son of the Tartar khan of the Crimea was put to death by the pasha of Rhodes for having said, that if the sultan should die without male issue the Ottoman sceptre would belong to his house. (Hist. Ottoman. t. iii, p. 48.)

* Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 284.

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The veneration of the Turks for the reigning family is coeval with the foundation of the monarchy; it has continued undiminished throughout five centuries, and may be considered as the chief, if not the only support of the Ottoman power. The purity of the succession, and the plenitude of power, are guarded by the religion, and the universal prejudices, of the nation. The janizaries, no less powerful and no less licentious than the prætorians, have dethroned, but have never usurped the privilege of electing an emperor. The reaction of the same principle, while it tends to the stability of the throne, contributes no less to the personal safety of the great officers of government. The jealousy of the sultan can never be excited against his vizirs or his generals; nor can the ambition of a subject ever dare to aspire above the footsteps of the throne. The imperial majesty slumbers in the arms of a minister, who is invested with all the pomp and all the power of royalty; to whom nothing is left to covet except the imperial dignity, and whose precarious existence is dependent on the favour of his master*.

* "Cum nihil sit amplius, præter imperatorium fastigium, quod concupiscere vizirius posse videatur: tunc levissima quaque de

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Yet though every motive of ambition and self-preservation, together with the possession of such ample means, may seem to suggest the consummation of treason and rebellion, the Ottoman annals do not record an attempt, or any intimation of an attempt, to transfer the sacred diadem to a private head.

The unity of the sovereignty is essential to the very existence of a Mussulman community. The Mahometan church acknowledges no legitimate form of government except the monarchical, because of the necessary union of the sacerdotal with the temporal power. It admits of no division of authority, no partition of dominion: the sovereign power is irreconcileable with curtailment or association, and like the state which is subject to its sway, is one and indivisible. Cara Mustafa Pasha, the vizir who conducted the siege of Vienna in the reign of Mahomet the Fourth, is indeed accused by historians of the design of assuming to himself the title of sultan of Vienna, and founding a Mussulman empire in the west. The charge of treachery against an unsuccess-

causa vel summovetur ab onere, vel interficitur." (Montalbanus, ap. Elzevir, p. 19.)

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ful general is easily credited. His attempt is reprobated by the Turks; but the authenticity of the accusation may be questioned, as it rests merely on the report of a rival, and is not supported by the evidence of any overt act*.

Princes of the blood.

The presumptive heirs to the empire live in honourable confinement in the palace called *eski serai*, and are placed by the law under the more especial protection of the *janizar aga* (general of the janizaries), whose duty it is to guard them from the cruelty or jealousy of the sultan: hence he is honoured by them with the name of *lala*, tutor or foster-father†. The custom of imprisoning the minor princes is repugnant to the spirit of Mussulman legislation, and is a law of the Seraglio dictated by fear and cruelty, the ruling passions of an effeminate tyrant. These victims of corrupt political institution are sequestered from general society, except when they momentarily quit their prison during the festival of the *baïram* in order to

* Cantemir, p. 304.

† Lord Sandwich says, (p. 210.) that "upon the death of one of these princes, the *janizar aga*, with the *cul kiahyasi*, and the two *cadileskers*, go to the seraglio, where they examine the corpse naked, in order to discover if there are any marks of violence."

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present their homage to the sultan. Sensual gratifications, it has been said, constitute their only enjoyments; but sensual pleasures are an inadequate compensation for the want of liberty, and even these are embittered by the reflection, if men so educated are capable of reflection, that the offspring of their luxury is condemned to be torn from the first embraces of its parents by the hands of an inexorable assassin*.

The sultan's vicegerents.

The sultan's delegates are the *sheïk islam* or mufti, chief doctor and interpreter of the *koran* and the canonical laws,† and the *vizir*

* "Le jour de la naissance de l'enfant est en même temps celui de sa mort: la sage femme qui le reçoit, est tenue, au risque de sa tête, de ne pas le laisser vivre.—Elle n'ensanglante cependant jamais ses mains; ce seroit un attentat contraire au respect dû au sang royal: mais elle s'interdit ses fonctions; elle ne noue pas le cordon ombilical. Tel est le genre de mort réservé à ces tendres rejetons du sang Ottoman." (Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 286.)

Dr. Pouqueville (Voyages, t. ii, p. 164.) affirms, that "the noblest passions of the Ottoman princes are *designedly perverted* during their imprisonment in the *eski serai*." But on what authority does he assert such calumny? Charles the Twelfth, of Sweden, gives us a useful caution against admitting reports on the mere credit of a traveller in Turkey. "M. Fabrice ayant dit à sa Majesté," says M. de la Motraye (Voyages, t. ii, p. 11.), "que j'étois un voyageur, elle lui répondit en souriant, j'ai remarqué que les voyageurs usent du privilège des poëtes, et nous en donnent bien à garder."

† See Tab. Gén. t. iv, p. 496.

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azem or grand vizir, who, as keeper of the seal of the empire, exercises all the temporal authority, and presides over the political administration.

The *ulema*, the guardians of the religion, the administrators and interpreters of the laws, of the empire, from which order the *mufti* is chosen, form a body highly respected and powerful. The venerable title of *ulema*, inasmuch as it signifies doctors or learned men, is common to the whole order, which is however divided into three distinct classes, comprehending indeed the ministers of religion, but distinguishing them from the *foukahha*, or jurisconsults, who are again subdivided into *muftis*, or doctors of law, and *cadis* or ministers of justice; and to these the title of *ulema* is more peculiarly appropriated. Classes of the ulema.

An error of the first consequence, and which has misled most writers in their speculations on the nature of the Turkish government, is that which represents the *ulema* as the ministers of religion, exercising control over the minds of men, still more unlimited than that of the Christian clergy in the darkest ages, and in the plenitude of their temporal power. The functions of the

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foukahha, the doctors and expounders of the law, are however perfectly distinct and unconnected with those of the *imams*, or immediate ministers of religion. These do not even belong to the order of the *ulema*, in the restricted meaning and general acceptation of the word: their service is confined to the mosques, and to the duties and ceremonies of public worship*.

The mere recapitulation of the degrees, by which the students of the colleges rise to the highest professional dignities, must show, that the lawyers and the judges are wholly unconnected with the ecclesiastical order; and that they are theologians only inasmuch as the *multeka* derives its origin from the precepts of the *koran*, and takes cognizance of whatever relates to faith or practice. The ministers of religion, indeed, receive their education in common with the *ulema* in the colleges, and together they form the class of students, called *softa*. When the students

* This distinction of powers is plainly inferred in the following passage: " Un *imam* mineur n'a le droit d'exercer par lui-même aucunes fonctions relatives à l'*imameth*, ni de faire aucun acte juridique; privé de ce droit, il ne peut le déférer ni aux *khatibs* et aux *imams*-prêtres, *pour l'exercice de la religion*, ni aux *mollas* et aux *cadys*, *pour l'administration de la justice*." (Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 276.)

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have attained a proper age, and have acquired a sufficient stock of learning, it is left to their own choice to devote themselves either to the ministry of religion, the interpretation of the laws, or the administration of justice: * but, when they have once entered upon the ministry, so distinct are they from the body of lawyers, that they are even arranged under a separate jurisdiction. The *kislar aga*, or chief of the black eunuchs, and not the mufti, is the delegate of the sultan's authority in the ecclesiastical department; for it is he who is superintendant of all the royal mosques, and receiver of their rents and endowments. To each of these he constitutes an officer named *mutevelli*, or administrator, who collects the revenues, and disburses the necessary expenses for keeping the buildings in repair, maintaining the priests, and providing whatever the splendour of public worship requires.

The offices in the Turkish government, partaking of their peculiar policy, cannot be properly compared to any similar ones among

* "Les deux premiers états n'offrent à l'ambition qu'une carrière assez bornée, mais aussi ceux qui se destinent au troisième, sont tenus à de plus longues études et soumis à des formalités plus rigoureuses." (Tab. Gén. t. iv, p. 487.)

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Europeans; and much misapprehension has been occasioned by the attempt to render every foreign custom or establishment intelligible by comparison. Cantemir says, we may compare the *mufti* to the pope, the *cazy-asker* to a patriarch, the *molla* to an archbishop or metropolitan, the *cadi* to a bishop; and to complete the hierarchy, he overlooks the separation of the professions, and compares the *imam* to a priest and the *danischmend* or scholars to our deacons. With equal propriety he might compare the sovereign manslayer of the Ottomans with the first magistrate, the beneficent father, of a great, enlightened, and high-spirited people*.

* Cantemir, p. 32, note 10.—The merit of this notable discovery is not due to Cantemir; he is however accountable for the greater absurdity of having adopted it. I find it first mentioned by Leunclavius, (in Turc. imp. statu ap. Elzevir, p. 201.) "Ludovicus Bassanus Jadrensis in hunc modum comparat eos cum nostris ecclesiasticis. Primum, *mufhtim*, dicit esse inter ipsos instar vel papæ vel patriarchæ Græcorum. Quippe juris omnis et sacrorum rex est, uti veteres etiam Romani loquebantur. Huic proximi sunt *cadelescheri*, id est, supremi judices, qui Arabum Maurorumque lingua dicuntur *cadi asker*. Bassanus hos cum archiepiscopis nostris comparat. Sequuntur *cadii*, veluti proximum post archiepiscopos locum obtinent episcopi. Secundum hos sunt *hoggiæ*, qui seniores dicuntur, ut Græcis et nostris presbyteri. Excipiunt *hoggiàs talismani*, ceu presbyteros diaconi. Ultimi sunt *dervisii*, qui monachis nostris respondent. *Talismani* Mahumetanos ad preces interdiu et noctu quinquies dicendas excitant.

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Much outward honour, and many important functions are bestowed upon the *ulema*. They are educated under the care of professors, called *muderriss*, in the academies, called *medressés*, annexed to the *jamis* or greater mosques, and chiefly of royal foundation. From these schools are chosen the *mehhkémé kiatibi*, or clerks of tribunals; *naïbs*, or substitutes of the judges; *cadis*, or judges of lesser towns; *mollas*, or judges of the principal towns or cities; the *istambol effendi*, judge and inspector general over the city of Constantinople; next to whom are the two *cazy-askers*, or supreme judges of Romelia and Anatolia, who sit in the *divan* on the right hand of the vizir: and the highest in dignity is the *mufti*, who is also called *sheïk islam*, prelate of orthodoxy, and *fetwa sahibi*, giver of judgments. The mufti always performs the ceremony of girding on the sabre, which answers to our coronation. He alone has the honour of kissing the sultan's left shoulder; and the sultan rises up, and advances seven steps towards him; whereas the vizir, who is met only with three

Order of legal dignities.

Clepsydris veteri more Græcorum utuntur, ad distinguenda tam diurna quam nocturna temporum spatia."

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steps, with more profound reverence kisses the hem of his garment*.

Subordination of the priesthood.

The ministers of religion throughout the Turkish empire are subordinate to the civil magistrate, who exercises over them the powers of a diocesan. He has the privilege of superseding and removing those whose conduct is reproachable, or who are unequal to the dignified discharge of the duties of their office. The magistrates themselves may, whenever they judge proper, perform all the sacerdotal functions, and it is in virtue of this prerogative, joined to the influence which they derive from their judicial power and their riches, that they have so marked a pre-eminence, and so preponderant an authority, over the ministers of public worship.

Privileges.

From the influence of the *ulema* with the people, they have sometimes been used by the heads of factions to stir up rebellion, to direct the public opinion against the throne, and to justify usurpation, but though, when

* Cantemir, p. 36, note 7.—"De tous les grands de l'empire, les oulémas du premier ordre, tels que le *mouphty* et les *cazi-askers*, sont les seuls qui aient la liberté d'aller en voiture. Celle du *mouphty* est couverte de drap vert, et celles des *cazi-askers* le sont de drap rouge." (Tab. Gén. t. iv, p. 181.)

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united with the janizaries, they may occasionally have thwarted the measures of government, their power is little formidable in itself. The honour and the prerogatives of their order, which form an enviable distinction between the *ulema*, and the other classes of the nation, give them an important rank in the state, and a powerful ascendancy over the minds as well of the court as the people. They pay no taxes or public imposts, and by a peculiar privilege their property is hereditary in their families, and is not liable to arbitrary confiscations. The preservation of these rights and immunities consequently unites the rich and powerful families of the *ulema*, and makes them forget their mutual jealousies, and relinquish their schemes of private ambition, whenever it is thought necessary to guard against a common danger. Despotism has, however, sufficient range without invading their privileges, and the *fetwas* of the mufti, in unison with the wishes of government, have never been refused, but when the sceptre was falling from the grasp of an unsuccessful or enervated sovereign.

The power and dignity of the *ulema* is said by Sir James Porter to be perpetual and

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hereditary*: but these expressions, if literally understood, may lead to an important error; for the power and dignity are not hereditary in individuals but in the order. Formerly the *ulema* held their offices for life, but about the end of the seventeenth century they were made removable at pleasure like all other public functionaries. They now hold them only for a year. Each individual enjoys, however, all the privileges of the order, independently of his holding any office, or exercising any public employment†. Their power has been much magnified by different writers. Mr. Eton calls them "a powerful priesthood:—the teachers of religion, combining the offices of priest and lawyer:—possessing, like the priests under the Jewish theocracy, the oracles both of law and religion, and uniting in themselves the power of two great corporations, those of the law and of the church." "The Ottoman princes," he says, "committed a political error, when they *resigned* the spiritual supremacy into the hands of the theological lawyers, who now share with the sovereign the direct exercise of the *legislative*, *execu-*

and powers of the ulema.

* Observations on the religion, laws, government, &c. of the Turks, introduction, p. xxxi. † Tab. Gén. t. iv, p. 545.

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tive, and *judicial powers;*" and he asserts, that "if the sultan were to omit the indispensable preliminary of the *fetwa* to any political act, the mufti, motu proprio, would declare him an infidel*." Sir James Porter considers the *ulema* as "equal, if not superior to any nobility," and balancing the power of the sovereign. "Their persons," he says, "are sacred," and "they can, *separately*, by availing themselves of the implicit respect of the people and the soldiery, rouse them to arms, mark out the point of limitation transgressed by the prince, and proceed to a formal deposition; nay, of such high importance is their intermediate power in the state, that a grand signor can never be deposed without their concurrence†." Peyssonnel also considers the power of the *ulema* so to counterbalance that of the sovereign as to take from the Ottoman government the character of arbitrary power; for with such a constitutional check there can be no despotism‡.

De Tott, however, speaks with greater accuracy when he says, that, though indeed

* Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 20, 21, 24, 37, 121.

† Observations on the religion, &c. of the Turks, introduction, p. xxxiii.

‡ Strictures and remarks on De Tott's memoirs, p. 208.

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the *ulema* can interpret the law as they please, and animate the people against their sovereign, he, on the other hand, can with a single word depose and banish the mufti, with as many of the *ulema* as may fall under his displeasure*.

The law, it is said, authorizes the sultan to banish the *ulema*, but not to put them to death: and if any part of the law could, by the collective or separate efforts of its ministers, be kept inviolate, it certainly would be that article which so much interests themselves; and yet we find, that Murad the Fourth commanded a mufti to be pounded to death in a marble mortar, and justified this extraordinary punishment by saying, that "the heads, whose dignity exempts them from the sword, ought to be struck with the pestle."† Nor is the respect of the people

* Memoirs, V. i, p. 189.

† Cantemir, p. 184, note 23.—The fact is mentioned by Cantemir, though he does not quote his authority for it. D'Ohsson acknowledges it to be a popular tradition among the Turks, that this punishment is reserved for criminal or refractory members of the *ulema*; but he can discover no example in the annals of the Ottoman monarchy of its having been executed. (Tab. Gén. t. iv, p. 604.)

It has been said, that the marble mortar, appropriated to the express purpose of braying the bones of the *ulema*, was deposited in the seven towers (Rycaut, p. 107.); but Dr. Pouqueville, who

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or the soldiery so implicit, but that they have exercised, in all its atrocity, their sovereign power against the *ulema* who had incurred their high displeasure. During an insurrection in the reign of Mustafa the Second, not only they put to death, with horrid cruelties, a mufti who had, in their judgment, misled the sultan; but they went so far as to excommunicate him, denied him the rights of sepulture, and delivered his mangled body to be insulted over by the mock ceremonies of a Greek priest*. But though there be no positive law which declares the persons of the *ulema* to be sacred and inviolable, an ancient prejudice, founded on the respect due to religion and its ministers, protects individuals of this order from judicial inflictions entailing infamy or dishonour. Imprisonment or exile are the only punishments to which they are now exposed, unless the enormity of their offence be such as to require severer reprobation, and even

was himself confined as a state prisoner in that fortress, assures us (Voyages, t. 2, p. 80.) of the contrary, "tandisque le plus grand nombre des Turcs assurent qu'il est dans le sérail, et que les hommes les plus raisonnables pensent qu'il n'existe pas, et que c'est un être de terreur qu'on ne connoît plus depuis bien des siècles.

* Cantemir, p. 437. De la Motraye, t. i, p. 333.

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then, before government denounces its sentence against the criminal, it compels him to abdicate his profession, and to quit the turban which particularly distinguishes it.

It is difficult to account for the introduction of the opinion, that the powers of the Ottoman sovereigns and the Mussulman hierarchy are in a state of continual opposition and warfare. "These two powers," says De Tott, "have the same source, and it is easy to perceive the disagreement and contention which must arise, since their right is equal and their interests different."* The abstract power of the *ulema*, as well as that of every corporation necessary for upholding society under any particular form, must consequently have the same common basis as the monarchical power; the fundamental laws or constitutional usages of the empire. But, though derived from the same source, there is this essential difference between them, that, in the one instance, the constitution, having established the order of succession, interferes no farther in the election of the individual who is to exercise the sovereign authority; while it leaves to the discretion of the monarch the partition and appropriation

* Memoirs, V. i, p. 28.

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to individuals of the authority to be exercised by the different members of a corporation: so that, though it be admitted, that the power of the *ulema* is co-existent with the constitution, no individual of that body can hold it immediately, or otherwise than from the good pleasure of the sultan; nor can he legally exert it independently of, and still less, contrarily to, his pleasure. Can men thus dependent on the caprice of the sultan, not only for their appointment and continuance in office, but for their existence, form a balance to his power, which is founded on the absolute command of the empire, and the influence which its universal patronage must bestow? Rycaut properly estimates this so much vaunted constitutional check. "Though the mufti," he says, "is many times, for custom, formality, and satisfaction of the people, consulted with, yet when his sentences have not been agreeable to the designs intended, I have known him in an instant thrown from his office to make room for another oracle better prepared for the purpose of his master."* And indeed it is

* Present state of the Ottoman empire, p. 6.—An anonymous writer, who appears to have filled the honourable station of *bailo*, or ambassador from the Venetian republic to the Ottoman porte,

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admitted by Mr. Eton, that "the power which the sultan has reserved to himself of nominating and deposing the mufti, creates for him, among the *ulema*, as many partisans as there are candidates aspiring to the pontificate,"* that is, the whole body of the *ulema*, unless we suppose, that the doctors of islamism, the followers of the ambitious Mahomet, are less aspiring than the humble professors of more self-denying doctrines.

It is inconceivable on what is founded the assertion, that the interests of the *ulema* are different from those of the sultan: they neither legislate nor execute the laws; but merely expound them, administer justice, and settle differences between individuals, giving sentence according to law, with a latitude of interpretation which is indeed allowed them, but which is regulated by precedent and the usages of their tribunal, and checked by the right of appeal, which, in cases of

in a memoir addressed to the senate, describes the authority of the mufti as a passive instrument in the hands of government. "Id tamen non ignorandum est, hunc Mofftim perpetuo adulari principi et ad ejus placita opinionem suam accomodare, suasque sententias ex temporum opportunitate immutare." De urbe Const. et imp. Turc. relatio incerti apud Honorium in Turc. imp. statu ap. Elzevir, p. 136.

* Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 23.

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irregularity or injustice, is left open to either party from their decision to the sovereign in council, where the vizir, his representative, confirms or reverses the sentence*. Their power can scarcely be supposed to interfere with any act of the sultan, as in cases of treason, or which in any manner regard his authority, he decides for himself without reference or appeal to them. We are told, that the grand signor cannot sign a treaty of peace without their consent;† and in the same sense it may be said, that the signature of a minister is necessary to give validity to the proclamation of a Christian prince; but if the sultan require the public sanction of the mufti to any political act, can we doubt whether, if the mufti refused his approbation, the sultan would hesitate between annulling the act or deposing the mufti? If a success-

* "The prime vizir, as he is the representative of the grand seignor, so he is the head or mouth of the law; to him appeals may be made, and any one may decline the ordinary course of justice, to have his case decided by his determination—by virtue of his unlimited power he can reverse the verdict and determine as he pleases." (Rycaut, p. 44.)

† "A Constantinople, quelque despotique que soit le grand seigneur, il ne peut souscrire à un projet de paix, sans l'avis du mufti et le consentement des gens de loi." (Hist. des négociations pour la paix conclue à Belgrade, t. i, p. 157.)

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ful usurper wish to gloss over his rebellion by a *fetwa*, would he relinquish the sovereignty, or not rather re-instate the marble mortar, if the mufti persisted in his loyalty?

The object of government in taking the opinion of the mufti on public affairs is solely to ascertain, that the purposed decree of the sultan contains nothing repugnant to the doctrines of religion, or the obligations of the canonical law:* but that the *fetwa* is not an indispensable preliminary is evident; for in the reign of Mahomet the Fourth, when the mufti joined with the dowager empress in protesting against an unjust infraction of the treaty made with the emperor of Germany, his opinion was over-ruled by the vizir and the army; and war, unfortunately

* "To this body," says Sir James Porter, very inaccurately and erroneously, (preface, p. 33.) "the grand signor appeals for a sanction to every important act of state, whether relative to peace or war; and in every criminal cause, even in those in which his own servants are concerned, he cannot take the life of a single subject, without the mufti's decree."

"In rebus politicis," says the Venetian bailo (Relatio, p. 136.) with a more profound knowledge of the subject than the English ambassador, "princeps ejusdem (sc. moffiis) autoritate utitur *ut sè justum ac religiosum ostentet*. Ipsius enim petit responsum cùm de bello hostibus inferendo, tum etiam de cæteris quibuscunque rebus, quæ ad imperium spectent: quo scilicet religionis medio subditos disponit promptius ad sua jussa peragenda."

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for the Ottoman empire, was resolved upon.*

Neither religion, nor the law, nor the political constitution of the empire, impose upon the monarch the obligation of consulting the mufti on the more important affairs of state, or on the ordinary acts of his government. Piety, or superstitious weakness, or more properly an habitual conformity with established practice, induces the sultan to appeal in general to the approbation of the legal authorities; but in most instances such proceedings are rather dictated by caution and policy, especially in troublesome times, or in novel and hazardous enterprises. The

* The Ottoman court long deliberated whether they should grant assistance to Tekeli, who had revolted from the emperor of Germany and engaged almost all the people of Hungary in his rebellion, or whether the rebels should be only supported in a private manner, until the twenty years truce, made by Kioprili Ahmed Pasha, should be expired. The latter opinion was approved by all the *ulema*, together with the sultana-mother, who declared it to be unjust to wage war with a prince, who had given no cause of complaint, but had hitherto strictly observed the conditions of the truce. (Cantemir, p. 296.) I willingly take this opportunity of shewing, that breach of faith with Christians is not systematic with the Turks; in contradiction indeed of the assertions of Baron Busbeck (de re mil. cont. Tur. inst. cons. p. 271.) and of Mr. Eton, but in unison with the opinion of the Turkish populace, who attributed to the perjury of the porte the ill success of the expedition against Vienna, and afterwards dethroned the sultan for having broken the peace before the expiration of the truce.

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determination of the sultan, if justified by the unanimous opinion of the chiefs of the *ulema*, obtains more implicit respect from the people; and being thus supported by the authority of divine and human law, removes from the sovereign and his ministers all responsibility as to the evils which may eventually result from it. Princes of more haughty temper and greater firmness of character, such as Selim the First and Murad the Fourth, have, notwithstanding, placed themselves above such considerations, and not only neglected these formalities, but treated with disdain the wisdom and the counsels of the mufti and *ulema**.

On the whole, though, when goaded on by a turbulent soldiery against an irresolute or luxurious prince, their holy clamour may have increased the uproar of insurrection, yet never, in any period of their history, did the gentlemen of the *ulema*, either collectively or separately, motu proprio, dispose of the Ottoman sceptre†.

* Tableau Général, t. iv, p. 513.

† Rycaut (p. 19.) in his account of a popular tumult at Constantinople during the minority of Mahomet the Fourth, gives an instance of the passive compliance of a mufti. "He feared," says he, "that if he gave not his concurrence, he himself should be killed, and the rather because he overheard a discourse to that

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Intelligent travellers, who have latterly observed the actual state of the *ulema*, have noticed, that their power in the Ottoman government is by no means equal to that which is attributed to them by former writers; but not suspecting any inaccuracy in these representations, they have imagined causes to account for what they suppose to be the declension of their influence. Sir James Porter says, "they admit no one into their order that is not recommended by some extraordinary merit or favour; not even of the first *pasha's* family, except one perhaps in a century, and then not without some foundation or claim*." But now, says Olivier, "the sultan creates *ulema* at his pleasure, and these appointments, where favour supersedes desert, have diminished the consideration which they once enjoyed†." The fact however is, that the children of *mollas* are admitted into the body of the *ulema* with the consent of the *sheik islam*, even though they have not gone through the regular course of study, nor taken their degrees in

effect.—Pen and ink being brought, the mufti wrote the sentence."

* Observations on the religion, &c. of the Turks, preface, p. xxxiii.

† Olivier's travels, V. i, p. 178.

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the colleges, whereas it requires an express order of the sultan to obtain admission, under the same circumstances, for the children of other families however illustrious from their rank or dignities. But the custom is by no means an innovation, for it has existed as long as the monarchy itself, and the superior offices of the law and the magistracy have been usually filled by privileged members of the *ulema* *.

Such is the theocratical, or Mussulman branch of the Ottoman constitution, which has been hitherto generally considered as forming a check to the absolute power of the sultans. I do not, however, know in what sense it can be said, that their authority is restrained by the precepts and institutions of the religious code. The sultan may riot freely in wantonness or cruelty. He may murder his father and his brothers, his wives and his children. He may shed the blood, and seize upon the substance, of his subjects, if not directly, at least by methods so little indirect, that no motive nor passion need be disguised. He may indulge the most vicious inclinations without any dread of censure, or control, if,

* Toderini, t. ii, p. 29.

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in his general government, he be sufficiently vigilant to provide for the wants, or sufficiently severe to restrain the murmurs and seditions, of his people. If he guard his frontiers from encroachment, if he occupy and reward his soldiery, if he cause justice to be administered in cases where the interests of his subjects only are concerned, his government will be loved, his person will be sacred, his crimes will be palliated, his injustice will be forgotten, and his memory will be dear to his people. Can we then consider as limitations to the exercise of this extensive prerogative, the duty of daily prayers, ablutions, fastings, and public ceremonies; the nature and qualities of food, or the observance of stated periods of festival or penance? In all these ceremonial performances, the sovereign is probably not less devotedly sincere than the most ignorant of his *imams*: but, if it be otherwise, the ease which he might hope to obtain by throwing off these restraints, would be too trivial to be regarded by a politician, or a philosopher, when placed in competition with the prejudices which they gratify and the reverence which they procure.

Montesquieu justly observes, that the seraglio of a despotic prince is always in- Grand vizir.

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creased in proportion to the extent of his dominions, and consequently the greater his empire, the more is he detached by the seductions of pleasure from the cares of government. The establishment of a vizir is therefore a fundamental law of despotism. That such has been universally the custom of the East, is proved by history*, and the concurring testimony of travellers; and still more by a game of eastern invention, the origin of which is lost in the darkness of antiquity. In the game of chess the moves of the king are made solely with a view to his own personal safety, while the vizir (which is the original name of the piece we call the queen) moves rapidly in every direction, and regulates and conducts the campaign†.

The *vizir azem*, in the full exercise of his authority, is restrained only by the will of his master, and the fundamental religious laws of

* "And again Pharao said to Joseph: Behold, I have appointed thee over the whole land of Egypt. And he took his ring from his own hand, and gave it into his hand: And the king said to Joseph: I am Pharaoh: without thy commandment no man shall move hand or foot in all the land of Egypt." Genesis, chap. xli, ver. 41, 42, 44.

† See Dissertation on the Indian game of chess, in Sir William Jones's works, Vol. i, p. 521—527.

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the empire. He exercises, over all the subjects of the sultan, the power of life and death, though he is bound to the observance of certain forms when he proceeds against men united with the great or powerful associations of the state. His responsibility is equal to the importance of his office; and the evils which result from the errors of his administration, or from the vicissitudes of fortune, are equally imputed to him. Hence it becomes essentially his duty to exercise a personal inspec-

Chaturanga (the four members of an army) is the word by which chess has been immemorially known in Hindostan. The old Persians corrupted it into *chatrang*, which the Arabs afterwards adopted; but, from the deficiency of their alphabet, they altered it into *shatranj*, and gave it back, under that name, to the modern Persians. Hence are evidently derived not only the Turkish word *satranj*, but the Latin *latrunculus*, which is formed by a change of its first letter and the addition of a Latin termination, in order to make it significative. By successive changes the same word has been transformed into *axedrex*, *scacchi*, *échecs* and *chess*; and not the least honourable, though the most extraordinary, of its derivatives, is the *exchequer* of Great Britain.

Sir William Jones is convinced, from the total difference between the language of the Brahmins, the inhabitants of the Indian plains, and that of the Tartars, or savages of the mountains, that these two races of men are wholly distinct from each other. (See Discourse on the Tartars, in Vol. i, p. 61.) Yet in *chaturanga*, which is a pure Sanscrit word, we find *chätüri*, the number four, of the Slavi, and *ungar*, the wing of an army, of the Mogols and Tartars. (See D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. p. 898, col. 1, voc. *Turk*).

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tion into the state of the public markets, and the conduct of the magistrates appointed to superintend the provisioning of the metropolis. His interest, and indeed his safety, depend upon his vigilance in this department of the public service; for, in his official character, he is held accountable not only to the sultan, but to the people, whose resentment, in seasons of dearth and calamity, breaks out, in the first instance, against the person and administration of the grand vizir. In time of war he commands the armies, and a *caïmacam*, or lieutenant, is appointed in his stead for the home administration*.

* See Tab. Gén. t. iv, p. 45.—"Nihil aliud vezirio præscribitur, quam ut videat ne imperium aut imperator aliquid detrimenti patiatur." (Montalbanus, in Turc. imp. statu ap. Elzevir, p. 28.) "In illo imperio alia non est auris, ad quam propositiones, responsiones, et mandata, novitates omnes, quæ ex tot regnis nuntiantur, referantur. Ipse solus omnia munera, omnes gradus, officia omnia et honores imperii totius, qui nihilominus infiniti esse videntur, distribuit. Solus audit, solus consulitur, et legatis respondet solus, omnibusque regnis providet, omniaque ipse ordinat: ad postremum ab ipso cuncta civilia, criminalia, politica dependent; neque aliud quam capitis ejus consilium attenditur, attamen in tanta auctoritate, cum timore, ac summo respectu, minimam quamque rem tractat, nempe quia variabilem principis naturam suosque æmulos passas veretur."

(De Urbe Const. et. imp. Turc. relatio incerti apud Honorium in Turc. imp. statu. ap. Elzevir, p. 133.)

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The *vizir azem*, whose most important duty is to keep the empire and capital quiet, gives public audience every day in his own divan for the administration of justice, and the decision of controversies among the grand signor's subjects. He is assisted on certain fixed days by the two *cazy-askers*, or by the *istambol effendi*, and the *mollas* of Eyub, Galata, and Scutari. The *reïs effendi*, among other important duties, performs the functions of secretary of state for foreign affairs, and has subordinate to him in that department the *dragoman* of the porte, a Greek interpreter, of one of the noble families, whose next promotion is usually to the principality of Wallachia or Moldavia. All the great officers of state remain, during the day only, at the vizir's palace, and superintend the affairs of their several departments.

Those who love to represent the Turks as a horde of barbarians, living without order, without laws, without morality, and sinking under the debilitating yoke of arbitrary power, describe the porte "as a cabinet, not under the guidance of enlightened politicians, but *a set of wretches*, continually fluctuating between the hope of amassing plunder by means of war, and enjoying it in the tranquillity of

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peace"*. We are, however, compelled to acquit them of the absurdity of acting upon such principles; for surely no minister of state was ever so little enlightened as to renounce the solid emoluments of his office for so precarious an advantage as the booty which he might acquire by war and plunder. Indeed we know from better authority, that the Turkish ministers are sufficiently sagacious, and understand so well the interests of their own country that few can over-reach them in their treaties†. The failings with which they are reproached, are not peculiar to Turkish statesmen, though it be admitted, that with them the preservation of their own authority is paramount to every other consideration, and that it is useless to urge the interest of the empire when their personal advantage or safety is endangered‡.

The frequent changes, in the higher departments, occasion very little interruption in the order of public business: the different offices are accurately and minutely subdivided: every thing is transacted with admirable conciseness, exactness, and despatch; and the in-

* Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 108.

† Rycaut, p. 32.

‡ See Observations on the religion, &c. of the Turks, p. 120

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ferior officers remain when their superiors are removed *.

The grand vizir is the ostensible president of the *divan* or great council, which on solemn occasions is called upon to direct the sovereign by their advice. The sultan himself, though present or supposed to be present behind a curtain or latticed window, takes no active part in their deliberations †.

Divan, or council of state.

* "Ils ne connaissent point cet encombrement d'écritures, cette multitude de lettres, de placets et de requêtes, qui inondent les cabinets des ministres de l'Europe. Un simple carré de papier renferme l'ordre laconique d'un vézir, qui sanctionne ou rejette un acte. Les commis, assis sur un sopha, les jambes croisées, la pipe à la bouche, fument et écrivent tout à la fois. Un simple carreau leur tient lieu de table, et une petite boîte est le secrétaire où ils renferment leur papier, l'encre, et la plume de roseau dont ils se servent, et ils travaillent aussi machinalement qu'ils fument." (Pouqueville, t. ii, p. 202.)

† "Dominus ipse—nullam in consilio sententiam profert, sed velo tantum discretus, quod visum adimat, aditum non interdicat, silentio consulentes observat." (Montalban. ap. Elzevir, p. 5.)

"Suleyman, qui assistoit au divan, c'est-à-dire derrière la jalousie placée au dessus du siége du grand-vézir, entendoit tout, &c." (Tab. Gén. t. i, p. 156.)

The spirit of the customs and institutions of the Ottomans eludes the transient observation of travellers. This latticed window which conceals the grand signor while he overlooks the divan, and which is essential to the nature of the Ottoman government (ne habeant quem sequantur, vel ne revereantur imprudentes ab eo dissidere. Montalban. p. 5.), is supposed by some gentlemen, who have been admitted in the suite of an ambassador, to be there for no other reason than to give the

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Formerly the divan was composed, besides the grand vizir, of six officers, called *kubbeh vizirs* from the hall in the seraglio where they usually hold their sittings. The subordinate members of the divan are now the *capudan pasha*, or lord high admiral; the two *cazy-askers;* the grand treasurer of the empire; the second treasurer, chief of the war department; the grand purveyor; and the *nishandji effendi*, who affixes the *tughra*, or cypher of the grand signor, to public acts*.

The powers of the *kubbeh vizirs*, or vizirs of the bench, were limited to sanction, though

sultan an opportunity of "gratifying an unprincely curiosity" by peeping at foreign ministers. De Tott (V. i, p. 23.) still more ridiculously asserts, that he is placed there from the mutual fear of himself and his vizirs, as in that situation he can neither assassinate nor be assassinated.

* I do not offer this as a correct list of the cabinet ministers of the present day: they are so described in an account, printed at Constantinople, of the first audience of M. Verninac, envoy from the French republic to the Ottoman Porte in the year 1796.

The grand signor's signature called *tughra* is affixed by the *nishanji effendi*, not at the bottom, but at the beginning, over the first line of the mandate. If the emperor intends a more than ordinary confirmation, he writes with his own hand over the *tughra*, "according to the underwritten be it done." Such a *khatt'y sherif* is held in great veneration by the Turks, who religiously kiss it when they touch it, and wipe off the dust on their cheeks.

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not to direct, the measures of government*. Of late years the council has infringed upon the authority, but diminished the responsibility, of the vizir, and has assumed a dictatorial and restrictive voice on questions of public importance. This change in the system of government, which has been introduced under the name of *nizami djedid*, or new constitution, was effected soon after the close of the last Russian war by three ministers, the *reïs effendi*, the minister of the war department, and the *validé kiahyasi*, steward of the dowager empress. The avowed object of its institution was the augmentation of the standing army, to be disciplined according to the improved system of European tactics, and supported by the imposition of new and extraordinary taxes. No benefit, however, has hitherto resulted to the state from this establishment; and indeed it appears to be inconsistent with the constitutional power of the vizir, or that power which

* The nullity of the constitutional powers of the great council may be judged of from the following passage in Rycaut. (p. 44.) "The vizirs of the bench, because their riches are but moderate, and the office they are in treats not much with the dangerous parts of the state, live long without envy or emulation, or being subject to that inconstancy of fortune and alteration, to which greater degrees of place are exposed."

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best harmonizes with a despotic establishment. I shall not be suspected of pleading the cause of despotism when I declare it to be my opinion (founded on events which I myself have witnessed in Turkey), that more beneficial, or rather less injurious, consequences result from its being maintained in its integrity, than when it is impeded in its progress, and checked in its exercise by institutions so foreign to its nature; institutions which take away the chief and only support of despotism, its promptitude and inflexibility of decision; which enfeeble the energies of government; create an interest foreign to that of the monarch, and open a wider field for corruption.

Mr. Eton, who could have known the grand council only before the infusion of aristocratical principles into its composition, describes it, however, as discussing every important act of government, and deciding by a plurality of votes. But Mr. Eton is predetermined that the *ulema* are priests, and that the interference of ecclesiastics in the affairs of government is both injurious to the subject and odious to the sovereign. In his opinion the folly of submitting to their guidance has, in no instance, appeared more

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disgustingly conspicuous than in the Turkish nation; and on no scene are the mutual contentions of the sultan and the *ulema* carried on with more virulence than in the divan, which, "as its members are swayed either by the party of the sultan, or by that of the priesthood, serves to determine the relative power of these two distinct bodies.*" The *cazy-askers*, the only members of the *ulema* who have seats in the divan, are not, however, the representatives of the priesthood, but, as their name imports, the judges of the army; a dignity created by Murad the First, and after the taking of Constantinople, divided between two magistrates by Mahomet the Second. He first summoned them to assist in the deliberations of his council, which until that period had consisted only of four vizirs: but he limited their functions to that of superintending, in the presence and under the control of the grand vizir, the judicial proceedings of his sovereign tribunal. The *mufti*, though head of the law and the Ottoman magistracy, never attends the divan, as it is thought derogatory to his dignity to exercise any judicial power.

* Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 25.

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Sublime Porte, or Ottoman cabinet.

The palace of the grand vizir, by a metaphor familiar to most of the Eastern languages, is called the porte, or king's gate,* and hence the Ottoman court assumes the name of the Sublime Porte in all public transactions. It has been said, that this appellation is derived from the gate of the seraglio, *bab-humaïun;* and Dr. Dallaway in some degree confirms it by asserting, that the Sublime Porte resembles a bastion.† But, though it be true, that, in the east, the gate of a palace is the principal and most magnificent part of the building, and under its vestibule the princes and nobles, like the chief of a horde of Arabs at the door of his tent, exercise hospitality and administer justice; yet the inconvenience of such a situation for transacting the business of a great empire must soon have suggested the necessity of a separate establishment for the vizir. The name of the porte was, however, continued to that part of the city to which the public

* "*Der*, mot persan, qui signifie porte, désigne dans tout l'orient la cour d'un prince souverain." (Tab. Gén. t. ii, p. 99.) See also a conjecture on the hundred gates of Thebes, in a note in Volney's Ruins.

† See Constantinople ancient and modern, p. 20. The comparison indeed is unfortunate, for there is no part of fortification which the imperial gate less resembles than a bastion.

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business was transferred, on account of the sameness of its political uses, and from its continuing to serve as the *door* of communication between the sultan and his subjects.* The Sublime Porte, however, so little resembles a bastion that it even follows the person of the sovereign; and Soliman the First, in conformity with this opinion, when at the head of his army in Persia he ordered an officer convicted of treachery to be sent to him for punishment, directed that he should be brought in irons to the porte†.

Government of provinces.

Until the reign of Soliman the First, the sons and brothers of the reigning emperors were intrusted with the government of provinces; but the frequent rebellion of Soli-

* Mr. Eton, though he had passed through Constantinople, appears ignorant even of *the local situation* of the palace called the porte. He says "all the business of government is transacted in the seraglio: the council itself is called the divan, and the place of public audience the porte, or gate." "Besides the vizir, all the other great public officers of the empire resident at Constantinople, inhabit the seraglio, or at least have their offices there." (Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 26, 27.) Mr. Griffiths, who was engaged in making observations "on the same subject and occurrences, and at the same time" as Mr. Eton, (see Travels, p. 168.) differs however, in this instance, so far from him in the result of his researches as to mistake the *porte* or gate, for the *port* or harbour. (Page 174, line 18.)

† See Cantemir, p. 209.

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man's children, and the necessity he was under of punishing his fourth son Mustafa with death, occasioned him to ordain by law, that in future they should be confined in the palace, called *eski serai*, until, in the order of events, they might be called to the succession. The greater governments are now confided to the sultan's lieutenants, who are honoured with the title of *beylerbey*, or prince of princes, because, being at the head of the military and financial establishments of the viceroyalty, and delegated by the sultan to watch over and preserve the component members of the federation, their authority extends over the governments comprehended as subdivisions of the *beylerbeylik*, and the lesser provinces which are administered by the *pashas*, the *beys* and the *agas**. All

* See Marsigli, stato milit. dell' imp. Ottom. t. i, p. 19. "Vox illa Turcica *beglerbeg* idem valet, quod dux ducum seu princeps principum. Hi enim supremi sunt duces et præfecti, quibus reliqui omnes, qui alicui in provincia sibi commissa præsunt imperio militari, subjecti sunt." (Lazarus Soranzus, de militar. cop. Turc. ap. Elzevir, p. 225.)

"Per legitimo diritto dell'uffizio ponno (*i. beylerbey*) commandare alli *bey* d'insorgere co' loro stendardi popolati di quelle milizie che gli sono assegnate." (Marsigli, t. i, p. 92.)

"Les *beys*, les chefs, &c. versent les tributs entre les mains du pacha *beglier-bey*."—"La direction de la force armée est confiée aux *beys* en sousordre du pacha (*beglier-bey*): toutes les

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pashas of three tails are called by courtesy *beylerbeys*, but the title, by way of eminence, is properly conferred only on the *pashas* of Romelia, Anatolia, and Damascus. The other *pashas* of three tails have at court no higher title than *desdur mukerrem*, plenipotentiaries, because they are authorized to issue mandates in the sultan's name, and to affix to them the sultan's cypher within their own jurisdiction*. The secondary and inferior governments are distinguished by the names of *pashalik*, *agalik*, *musselimlik* and *vaivodalik*. Those of the greatest extent are *pashaliks*, and *agaliks* are the smallest. *Musselimliks* are dependencies of the *beylerbeys* or *pashas*, and are administered by their deputies. *Vaivodaliks*, in general, are small districts, or single cities and towns, separate from the greater government as being, in most instances, the appanage of a sultana, or of a great officer of state†. But

semaines des détachemens de chacun des *sangiaks* (ou baronnies) se rendent devant lui pour passer la revue." (Pouqueville, voyage en Morée, t. i, p. 230, 240.)

* See Cantemir, p. 85, note 24.

† The *agas* assume the title of *bey*, though it properly belongs to governors of a rank superior to their own. The following is the order of precedency: first the *vizir azem* or grand vizir: next to him the *beylerbey*, or *pasha* of three tails, who has also

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though unequal in point of dignity there exists no subordination, as to matters of police or internal regulation, between the magistrates who preside over the greater or lesser divisions of dominion. Every governor is considered as representing the sovereign within the limits of his own jurisdiction, is invested with his authority, and exercises his prerogatives in all their plenitude. Contentious jurisdiction, the power to determine differences between the subjects, is left to the *cadi*, in conformity with the fundamental principles of Mussulman government, and in imitation of the practice of the sultan.

Revenues of pashas:

Their revenues arise from the rents or produce of lands assigned for their maintenance, and from certain fixed imposts on the cities, towns, and villages, of their district, in some instances levied immediately by themselves,

the title of *vizir*; the *pasha* of two tails; the *bey* who is honoured only with one horse-tail; and the *aga*, or military governor of a district, who has the *sanjac* or standard, and is thence called *sanjac* or *sanjac-bey* in his military character.

The title of *vaivoda* is not absolutely confined to governors administering a *vaivodalik*, considered as an appanage, for the chief magistrate of Galata, a district or a suburb of Constantinople, is called *vaivoda*, as are also the princes or hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia.

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and, in less independent governments, intermediately by officers of the sultan*.

It would be impossible exactly to describe the various means of collecting wealth, employed by governors, exercising such absolute powers. Though despotism may be more severely felt in the provinces, as redress is more difficult, yet we should hesitate before we admit the exaggerated assertion, "that the principal occupation of *every pasha* is to suck out the very vitals of his province."† The real worth of *pashaliks* is indeed in proportion to the number of tributary inhabitants, with respect to whom, the Turkish officers may abuse their power, and indulge their avarice, so as to extort from them all that exceeds the first wants of life.

This matter will however be best elucidated by a particular example, for which I am indebted to a gentleman who held the office of French consul at Salonica, and who has written on Turkish affairs with more truth, and more intelligence of the subject than any author whose works I have consulted. "The pasha of Salonica," says M.

* See Marsigli, Stato milit. dell' Imp. Ottom. t. i, cap. 49, p. 93. † Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 52.

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Beaujour, " holds by direct tenure about twenty villages, from which he receives the tenths of their yearly produce; this revenue he farms for about sixty or seventy thousand piastres: he collects, besides, at least an equal sum from casualties: he makes by *avanias* or extortions, a hundred thousand piastres, and if he be not a man of singular humanity, he gives even a greater extension to this branch of revenue: if he be covetous and rapacious, he absorbs the riches of the country. Mustafa Pasha, brother-in-law to the sultan, who governed Salonica in the year 1799, remitted to the sultana, his wife, a monthly pension of fifteen thousand piastres: his household establishment consisted of five hundred men, and a hundred and fifty horses, the maintenance of which must have been attended with at least an equal expense. So that the *pashalik* yielded to him a revenue of three hundred and sixty thousand piastres,(or twenty-four thousand pounds sterling) without having recourse to compulsory or tyrannical measures; for, in the opinion of the inhabitants, he was accounted humane and disinterested, which I also," continues M. Beaujour, " can affirm to be true from my own

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knowledge and experience of his character and conduct."*

To the Mussulman inhabitants, who are protected by the civil or military associations to which they are united, and whose complaints can always reach the throne, no jurisdiction can be more mild and paternal, no government more humane†. The Turkish, as well as the tributary cultivators, pay a quit rent, in consideration of which, the Turks at least, are free and independent.

* Tableau du commerce de la Grèce, t. i, p. 47.

" Les revenus les plus réels du pacha sont des dotations consistantes en fermes attachées à sa place ; les réquisitions en chevaux, meubles et denrées qu'il peut exiger ; la succession des fonctionnaires publics, dont les biens retournent au sultan, en cas de mort ; l'installation des évêques, celles des *papas* (prêtres Grecs) ; enfin, les *avanies* qui sont, pour tout homme en place, une mine qui rend en raison de l'avidité et des extortions toujours impunies." (Pouqueville, t. i, p. 239.)

† In the provinces the interests of the Turkish community are protected by a council composed of the *ayans*, or overseers, who are men of the greatest power and influence in the district. The word *ayan* properly signifies eyes, and denotes, in a figurative manner, the duties of these public guardians. " On appelle à ce conseil dans les affaires importantes, un ou deux vieillards de chaque orta de janissaires." " Tout Turc est ici (à Salonique) janissaire et tout janissaire est soldat." (Beaujour, t. i, p. 48, 52.) " Chaque art, chaque métier est soumis à des loix particulières ; et ceux qui les exercent forment des corporations distinctes et séparées, sous le nom d'*esnaf*." (Tab. Gén. t. iv, p. 228.)

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No people are less oppressed, nor less subject to contributions: their conduct is under no control, but that of partial and indulgent law: their rivers, their plains, and their forests are common property; and all have the right of hunting, shooting and fishing.

their modes of life:

The mode of life and occupations of a *pasha*, governor of a province, are correctly described by Dr. Pouqueville, who, during his detention in the Morea as a prisoner of war, lived in the palace of the *pasha* of Tripolitza, and was employed as physician to his household. "They rise," he says, "at day-break to perform their morning devotions, which are preceded by ablution. Pipes and coffee are then served. The *pasha* sometimes mounts his horse, and amuses himself with seeing his pages exercise the *dgerid*, and sometimes he gives public audiences. He then administers justice in person, and pronounces judgment on whatever regards the public government: he imposes fines or penalties, sentences to the bastinado or the gallows, condemns or acquits, according to his pleasure; for all power is in his hands. At noon, public prayers and dinner: at three hours after mid-day, prayers again, mili-

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tary parade and music. He then enters his *selamlik* or drawing-room, receives visits and amuses himself with listening to storytellers, or with laughing at the grimaces and antics of his buffoons and jesters, or with chanting verses of the *koran*. At sun-set prayers and supper, and afterwards pipes and coffee. An hour and a half after the close of the day he performs his fifth and concluding devotions; and immediately the military music sounds the retreat, and the whole family retires to rest."* The *agas*, at least those in Macedonia, reside in their castles, surrounded by a guard of Albanians, and live in a state of constant warfare with each other, like the ancient barons. The victorious *aga* burns the plantations of his enemy, and carries away whatever he can seize upon, his wives or his cattle. Their ravages are seldom intermitted, or their animosities suspended, except during certain festivals of their religion, which operate in the same beneficial manner, though they occur less frequently, than what was formerly denominated the truce of God, the pious invention of the

* Voyages en Morée, à Constantinople, et en Albanie, t. i, p. 53.

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Christian clergy to restrain the mutual contentions of the feudal nobility*.

precariousness of their offices.

All the officers of government owe their appointment to the sole favour of the sultan, without respect to birth, talents, services, or experience. They are deposed or punished without the liberty of complaint or remonstrance; and, at their death, the state inherits their property. Such is the constitution of arbitrary power: but the immediate appointments of the sultan must necessarily be confined within the narrow circle of his personal acquaintance, which scarcely extends beyond the limits of his palace: the nomination to offices is consequently delegated to his ministers and favourites. It is a fact of public notoriety, that governments of every description are sold at the porte: they are held for the term of one year only, and at the ensuing *baïram* the leases must be renewed, or transferred to a less parsimonious competitor. In the public registers the precise value of every important post under government is recorded; and the regular remittance of the taxes and tribute is the only acknowledged criterion of upright administration.

* See Tableau du commerce de la Grèce, t. i, p. 56.

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If the stipulated revenue duly enter into the coffers of government, no inquiry is made whether it has been collected by harsh or by lenient measures, whether it has been extorted by tyranny and oppression from a wretched and diminished population, or willingly contributed from the superabundance of private wealth, as a homage to virtuous administration*. Hence it is that governors of distant provinces, availing of the resources of their districts, have, in frequent instances, so firmly established themselves as to resist efficaciously the right of the sovereign to eject or dispossess them. When a *pasha*, from a sense of his own strength or of the weakness of government, aspires to independency, he withholds the contributions due to the porte: he however negotiates while he threatens, and if the attempt fails of checking his insolence by the interposition of a *capigi bashi* as an executioner, the same officer is commissioned on

* " On sçait que les vicerois, pachas, gouverneurs des places, et autres officiers de l'empire Ottoman, sont des fermiers qui, sous peine d'envoyer leurs têtes au trésor royal, sont obligez d' y faire remettre les sommes dont ils sont convenus avec le grand visir. On ne reçoit point d'excuse sur cela. Il faut trouver de l'argent, n'en fût-il point ; et comme leur vie et leur fortune dépendent de leur exactitude à payer, ils mettent tout en usage pour en venir à bout." (D'Arvieux, t. iii, p. 99.)

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the part of the sultan to confirm him in his dignity, to sanction, and even to recompense his revolt by conferring on him additional honours. In this manner the *pashas* of Scutari and Yanina in Europe, and of Bagdad and Damascus in Asia, besides several others, have made themselves independent of the porte, in one sense only, and may perhaps succeed in rendering their fiefs hereditary in their families*. This conduct, which in Christendom would be called rebellion, the porte in its parental kindness considers rather as the caprice of a splenetic child. Its maxim is to yield to necessity, and to sooth the undutiful subject, instead of irritating him into avowed rebellion: but the contempt of its authority leaves an indelible impression. While they accumulate honours on the fortunate usurper, they constantly keep in view the heinousness of his offence; and if once his

* " Depuis le règne d'Abdul-hamid, qui est l'époque d'une plus grande accélération dans la décadence de l'empire Ottoman, les *agaliks* de la Grèce sont souvent conquis de vive force par des aventuriers Albanais. La Porte donne alors l'investiture qu'elle ne peut refuser. Quelquesuns de ces *agas* heureux ont même usurpé dans ces derniers tems des *vaïvodaliks*; et à juger de leur conduite future par la manière dont ils ont débuté dans leur entreprise, il est à craindre qu'ils n'envahissent bientôt des *pachaliks*." (Beaujour, t. i, p. 12.)

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circumspection is lulled to sleep, if once he can be seduced by the allurements of ambition to abandon his strong holds, and to accept of a government of a higher order, the tardy but persevering minister of vengeance unexpectedly presents himself, and terminates his golden prospects in death*. On the invasion of Egypt by the French, the *pashas* of several important provinces were considered as in open rebellion against the porte, yet, though each asserted his independence, none of them refused to obey the summons of government, and to furnish their contingent of troops†: nor are they obedient in this respect only; each of them maintains at court his agent or *capi*

* This mode of proceeding is proverbially said by the Turks to be *hunting the hare in a waggon drawn by oxen.*

† Dr. Pouqueville, (t. iii, p. 179.) in describing the preparations for war against the French in the year 1800, enumerates the reinforcements which were to be sent from the different provinces to the grand vizir's army. It is curious, that in the following list he merely recapitulates those provinces, which, in a preceding note, (p. 176.) he had pronounced to be in rebellion.

" Le pacha de Bagdad va se soumettre, il conduit une armée levée sur les bords de l'Euphrate; le pacha de Damas, ennemi juré du nom Français, commande des forces considérables; le farouche Djezzar a rassemblé vingt mille hommes; les bords du Jourdain doivent voir tant de guerriers réunis sous les ordres du vézir suprême. La Mecque, Médine, les Arabes se sont armés et traversent la mer Rouge. Unis aux Nubiens et aux sheïks de la Haute Egypte, ils attaqueront les Français dans le Saïd."

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kiahya, through whom he regularly remits the taxes, due to the *miri*, and through whom he solicits, as a token that he has not incurred his sovereign's displeasure, the honour of being legally appointed to collect the *haratch*, or poll-tax levied on the *rayahs*, within his own jurisdiction. There are however some fiefs, as well in Europe as in Asia, which by original donation are hereditary in certain families. Mehemmed Bey was created by Selim the First, *beylerbey* of Diarbekir, and the province was given to him *malikiane*, that is, for the term of his own life, and with the privilege of transmitting it by descent to his male children. In this manner Cara Osman Oglu governs at Magnesia in Asia Minor, and the family of the Ghavrinos, who conquered Macedonia, still possess several *agaliks* in that province by virtue of similar concessions*.

It has been said, and no assertion has been more generally credited, that no sooner have they amassed property, than they are cut off by the sultan, in order to enrich his own treasury.†

* Cantemir, p. 153. Rycaut, chap. xii, p. 52. Tab. Gén. t. ii, p. 533. Beaujour, Tab. du commerce de la Grèce, t. i, p. 11.

† See Toderini, t. i, p. 60.

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It is however difficult to suppose, that avarice, the mere desire of hoarding up treasure, can ever be the vice of an Ottoman sovereign; and it would be difficult to prove, in the whole history of the empire, that a sultan was ever actuated by such a sordid passion. It must be recollected that the *miri* or public treasury, and not the sultan, is heir to the officers of government. The sultan, whose private wealth exceeds the bounds of his caprice, is restrained from direct misapplication of the public funds, which are reserved for the exigencies of the state. The courtiers, indeed, may inflame the mind of their master against a wealthy *pasha*, whom they wish to supplant; but unless he errs in making too sparing a distribution of his presents, the courtiers and ministers of state derive more benefit from his gifts, than they could hope from the confiscation of his property.

Reflections on the sultan's direct interference in government,

In the history of the former ages of the Ottoman empire, we find that the sultans frequently interfered in the ordinary administration of government, and generally headed their armies in person. But whatever advantages the Roman world might derive from the superintendance of such enlightened emperors, as Trajan or the Antonines, the igno-

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rant zeal of the Turkish sultans only heightened the evils and horrors of despotism. What advantage could, indeed, be expected from the superficial inquiry, and hasty decision, of men ignorant of the first principles of justice, intoxicated with absolute power, and whose ears no remonstrance against their own conduct had ever reached, except such as is faintly conveyed in the passive groans of miserable men? A vizir may be checked in the exertion of his delegated authority by the apprehension that truth, or calumny, may disclose, or blacken, his conduct to his master; but the will of a tyrannical monarch can be restrained only by the menaces of religion, and the dread of insurrection, which scarcely enter even into his contemplation, until they are announced by the approach of death, or by the tumults of the populace. Though the sovereign, on his tribunal, be superior to any consideration of personal interest; yet the mind of a despot is not less assailable by motives foreign to the abstract merit of the cause, than that of a plebeian judge. Though he be sincere in the investigation of truth, yet the boldness of conscious integrity may to him appear shameless effrontery; the pertinacity of truth may seem the obstinacy of

In administering justice,

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error; and the confusion of modesty, the confession of guilt. Would calumniated innocence dare to exert her eloquence before such a tribunal? Could she hope to smooth the angry brow, to dispel the cloud of prejudice and to inspire the mind with candour to condemn a precipitate judgment, or to retract a hasty sentence? The despotic judge will appeal in vain for guidance to the learned and the wise. Even the ministers of religion resign the inflexibility of their virtue, and become the obsequious instruments of the will of the monarch. Thus, when Soliman and Peter, the legislators of Turkey and Russia, determined to put their sons to death, they found no difficulty in obtaining the *fetwa* of the mufti, or the sentence of the patriarch*.

In their eagerness to do justice, some of the wisest sultans have been hurried into cruel and disproportioned retaliation. Soliman the First, disappointed in his endeavours to apprehend some Albanians, who had committed theft and murder, ordered all of that nation in Con-

* "Ahmed the Second affected to appear a lover of justice, though, by reason of his stupidity, he could not perfectly discharge the functions of a judge, and believed every thing which his friends, bribed by the contending parties, represented to him." (Cantemir, p. 394.)

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stantinople to be sought after to a man, and put to death, for the crime of their countrymen; and again, because the *molla* and *cadis* were killed at Aleppo by the populace, he sent an army, indiscriminately to destroy all the inhabitants without inquiring after the perpetrators of the murder*. Theodosius, a wise, humane, and Christian emperor, and the republic of Athens, the most enlightened and the most liberal of nations, had precipitately authorized similar excesses. The evils of rashness, in which the sovereign indulges, are aggravated in Turkey by the irrevocability of the sentence. The brow of the tyrant may express, as that of Soliman did to the penetration of Busbequius, the anguish of his mind: but the sultan cannot, like Theodosius, expiate criminality by public penance, or like the Athenians, arrest the execution. May I be permitted to offer this tribute of respect to the memory of this illustrious people! The general assembly of Athens had condemned to death, in one undistinguishing sentence, the inhabitants of Mitylene in the island of Lesbos; but the reflection of a single night produced repentance and remorse: the orders

* Cantemir, p. 183.

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for the execution were already despatched, when the assembly resumed its sitting, to discuss the justice and propriety of its decisions. With what ingenuousness did they confess their fault, with what eagerness did they proceed to repair it, and with what celerity was the galley despatched to Lesbos, with the mitigated sentence? How truly great and amiable was this people! The world can produce but this solitary instance of unforced repentance in a popular assembly. When criminality is sub-divided, it is lightly felt; but every Athenian citizen imputed to himself the whole guilt of this public act of injustice, in which he had concurred. Who, from such examples, would wish that *absolute power* should be confided to the erring judgments of mortals, either separately or collectively? Rather let it riot in the comparatively innocent luxuries of the seraglio, than aim at augmenting the happiness of a nation by the *best intended* administration of government.

The sense of duty in an Ottoman sultan may be judged of by the objects which Soliman sighed for the ability to accomplish;—the building of the mosque which bears his name, the reconstruction of Valens's aque-

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ducts, and the conquest of Vienna; * objects, which, in his judgment, were most highly conducive to the glory of God, the comfort of true believers, and the extirpation of heresy, and error. The sultan still presides, or is supposed to preside, in his own tribunal, *ghalibé divan*, which is held every Tuesday; but the whole is only the harmless shadow of former usage. The affairs are of little consequence, though every thing is conducted with show, and ceremony, and ostentation. For the edification of the people, and as a convincing proof that the grand signor interests himself in the concerns of his subjects, the vizir is frequently summoned during the course of a trial to attend his sovereign, and receive his instructions as to the sentence. At the beginning of a reign, to impress his good city of Constantinople with a favourable opinion of their new monarch, some human sacrifices are constantly offered. Sometime a Mussulman, invested with an office of emolument, who may have formerly incurred the displeasure of some of the new favourites, is brought forward, accused by his sovereign of malversation, and beheaded in his presence:

* Busbeq. Epist. p. 264.

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or more frequently an infidel, who, by wearing slippers of a forbidden colour, is presumed to have usurped the privileges of the Mussulman people, is punished with death, and trampled upon for three days in the public street.

in conducting war.

When the sultans headed their armies, the fruits of the earth failed, and the face of nature withered at their approach. Busbequius had traversed the conquests of Soliman: "the corn," says he, "which such a calamity has depressed, will never again rear its head."* Their voice was the voice of desolation; their language, extermination and death. "The city," said the agonizing sultan, with heartfelt regret, "the city, whose hearth is to be extinguished, is not yet taken:" and, on his deathbed, he devoutly addresses "the God of all worlds, the sovereign and lord of all creatures, to have pity on the host of the faithful, and graciously assist them, in accomplishing"—this work of hell†. According to their belief, no war should be undertaken without a just cause; but the propagation of the faith was the broad mantle, which hid from their sight every unjust and dishonourable motive. Hence their wars have all had the character

* Busbeq. de re mil. cont. Tur. instit. consilium, p. 273.

† Cantemir, p. 215.

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of religious wars, and they rushed out, glowing with holy zeal, to murder the aged parent, and the helpless infant; but reserved their mercy for the tender maidens, who, as vessels which had providentially escaped contamination, were capable of being applied to holy purposes. To the noble feelings of sovereigns on these glorious occasions, we are to attribute the murderous barbarities of Jenghiz Khan, and the comparative clemency of Tamerlane. The warrior is indeed placed between heroism and crime, and the best conquerors hold but a middle rank between cruelty and justice. We may be shocked at the severities exercised by them, yet since the world has agreed to worship conquerors, we are no less wrong in imputing to them the evils which are inseparable from war, than in expecting from them those virtues which can flourish only in a state of peace. Let us not, however, regret, that, since the decline of the military spirit among the Turks, their sovereigns, somewhat less enamoured than formerly of the glories of warfare, have sacrificed their fame to their repose, and sunk into insignificance in the voluptuous gratifications of the harem.

The Turks, indulgent to the follies, the vices, and even the crimes of their sultans,

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are nevertheless severe in arraigning the conduct of those, whom they consider as too much addicted to the pleasures of the chace. I am at a loss to account for an intolerance so singular and so little agreeable to reason, unless perhaps it owes its origin to one of the popular sayings, which are familiarly and generally used in ordinary conversation among the Turks, as among all the eastern nations, although, in many instances, their authority is owing rather to a certain alliteration or a jingle of the words, than to the shrewdness or profoundness of the thought. "He that kills a sportsman or a gamester," says the proverb, "shall be accounted a hero:" and assuming this as an irrefragable truth, the *ulema*, when they were incited to foment a rebellion against the unfortunate Mahomet the Fourth, represented to the people, that the divine wrath against the Ottoman nation was manifest, since the sultan was become so infatuated as to suppose, that the bounds of the Ottoman empire, which had been extended by the labours and the blood of so many Mussulmans, could be defended by hounds and falcons*.

* Cantemir, p. 337.

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In the opinion of Mussulmans, the law of the *koran* is no less binding on the prince than on the meanest of his people. While this law is religiously observed, and history furnishes no instance of its infringement in any essential point, the devotion of the subject corresponds with the unlimited authority of the monarch: every one acknowledges obedience to the absolute power of the sultan, and every one practises it. The rebellion of *pashas*, as has been shown, is not an abnegation of the sultan's authority; for they always name him with reverence and obey his commands, except when he requires the resignation of their own power, or the weakening of their own stability: their revolt affects only the ministers and courtiers, who indeed suffer by the independence of a *pasha*, as they are thereby deprived of their dues of office, and the annual presents which they are entitled to on every new appointment. Submission to the sultan, both as spiritual and temporal chief, is universal in theory, but from the remoteness and indistinctness of its proper object, it is naturally transferred to more immediate superiors. Yet we have seen the body-guard of an usurper stopped in the act of taking vengeance on an assassin, by his

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producing the sultan's mandate for the execution of their master. Armed with this alone, he gains admission into the household, or insinuates himself into the confidence, of a rebel. Relying on no other protection, he disregards the fierce aspect of his myrmidons, and their professions of inviolable attachment: he singles out his object from the midst of them, he aims his blow, and, if it be well directed, the baseless structure of power is in one instant demolished, and the current of popular loyalty, no longer obstructed, re-assumes its legitimate direction. I have heard, that the officers of the sultan proceeding on such commissions have been detected, and have themselves undergone the punishment which they were ordered to inflict: but I recollect no instance of any one having suffered from the effects of resentment after the accomplishment of his errand: like the children of the Spartans, they are punished only for the failure of their stratagems.

The enthusiasm of loyalty may have prompted individuals to romantic proofs of their attachment to the person of their sovereign; but I do not dare to confirm the assertion of Rycaut, that they carry their

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obedience to such an extreme as to perform whatsoever the sultan signifies to be his pleasure, " though he command whole armies of them to precipitate themselves from a rock, or build a bridge with piles of their bodies for him to pass rivers, or to kill one another to afford him pastime and pleasure.*"

* I do not know whether Rycaut is to be understood as asserting, in the following passage, that he himself had witnessed such extravagancies. " They that have been where they have *seen* and *known* the manner of this blind obedience, may well cry out, O homines ad servitutem paratos!" (Present state of the Ottoman empire, p. 9.)

In the catalogue of printed books in the British museum is a work in French, published at Paris, under the title of " Extrait dune lettre que ung Chrestien qui demeure en turcquie a escript et envoye a ung sien cousin Chrestien, escript le premier Decembre l'an 1527." The publication is undoubtedly of the antiquity to which it lays claim, but the information which it contains should be cautiously received, as its inaccuracy in many passages proves it to be a compilation of erroneous or exaggerated opinions, and not the genuine performance of the person to whom it is ascribed, who is represented as having resided in Constantinople, and as being married to a woman of the country. The following story would indeed corroborate Rycaut's assertions, if it were not itself unsupported by any proof, and if any testimony could make such improbabilities credible. My own opinion as to the facts in question is independent of the authority of both authors. Je ne crois pas même les témoins oculaires, quand ils me disent des choses que le sens commun désavoue.

" Item le peuple en turcquie est tenu si tresubiect et en si grosse craincte que quant il plaist a lempereur mander quelque homme riche soy destituer : abandonner femme et enfans et lui

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The education of the seraglio is represented as the systematic warping of the mind to the principles of slavery: and, as it is asserted, that young men so educated are destined to fill the highest posts of honour and to undertake the government of provinces, it is concluded, that the prejudice of absolute resignation to the will of the sultan is by their means universally diffused throughout the empire*.

This however is erroneous; for, compara-

dict ou faict dire quil sen aille tenir en exille en quelque isle de la mer; ou quil se aille getter en la mer et soy noyer. Incontinent le bourgeoys ou quelque austre quel quil soit: Riche ou poure obeist et se gette au plaisir de l'empereur: soit pour soy tuer ou noyer. Et affin dentendre que ainsi est. Puys peu de temps enca aucun Roy chrestien envoya son ambassadeur pardeca vers nostre empereur: apres son execution faicte nostre empereur pour demonstrer l'obeissanse des siens: mande querir six notables personnaiges gens vieulx et anciens grandes et longues barbes grises. Iceulx arrivez devant lempereur eulx prosternant jusques a bayser la terre: comme nostre coustume est. Et ainsi quilz estoient tous nudz chascun une espee trenchante en la main: lempereur leur commanda que incontinent et sans delay en la presence dicelluy ambassadeur ung chascun deulx se boutast lespee parmy le corps: a grant peine eut lempereur finy la parolle que iceulx six se bouterent chascun lespee parmy le corps: Moururent sur la place et furent emportez mors. Lembassadeur bien estonne: et croyez que incontinent quil viendra au pays il en fera le rapport a son seigneur. Ce sont choses execrables: parquoy vous qui avez bon seigneur debuez bien louer dieu."

* Rycaut, Present state of the Ottoman Empire, Chap. iii—v.

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tively speaking, few are selected from among the pages to fill these important situations. Young men, whose chief recommendation in the first instance is their personal comeliness, are admitted into the colleges of the *ichoglans*, of which one is within the walls of the imperial palace, and the other, called *Galata seraï*, is in the suburb of Pera. They are educated under the care of masters appointed by the chief of the white eunuchs, *capi aga*, at the private expense of the sultan; but the object of the institution is not to prepare men for holding the highest offices of the state, but merely to educate pages for the service of the court.

The greatest number of them never quit the seraglio, and some even grow grey in the colleges. Their education favours the requisite attainments of a Turkish courtier: they are taught to please by the graces of their person and manners, and the politeness of their conversation and diction: passive obedience is the lesson which is constantly inculcated, and such severe chastisement is inflicted for the commission of the slightest fault, that he who has passed through the several degrees, may be truly said to have his passions mortified, and his manners

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moulded to slavery. The highest dignity in the seraglio to which they can attain is that of *coltuk vizir*, a compound word, which denotes both their actual privilege of supporting the sultan under the arm and assisting him when he mounts on horseback, and also indicates, by anticipation, the rank which they are entitled to hold on their being dismissed from attendance on the emperor's person. Only the pages, who by merit, favour, or length of services have arrived at the dignity of *coltuk vizir*, have a prospect of being raised on vacancies to the post of *pasha* of three tails: but though, when they quit the court, they have as much power in their respective *pashaliks* as other governors, yet they are distinguished by an opprobrious appellation, expressive of their want of experience in civil and military affairs, from those who have raised themselves by their courage and implied virtues*.

The national education, or rather the national manners, by no means, inculcate a slavish disposition. The Ottoman govern-

* I may here be permitted to observe, that Gibbon, in his sketch of the Turkish education and discipline (Vol. xii, p. 58—62), has copied too faithfully the errors of Rycaut and the other guides whom he professes to have followed.

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ment is, in its exercise, a military aristocracy, where every Mussulman imbibes some portion of the haughtiness of the military character with respect to those who are deprived of the use of arms, but is courtly and civil to his comrades, and obedient and respectful to his superiors. Accordingly we distinguish in the Turks the leading features of aristocracy, not only pride in their port and defiance in their eye, but candour in their character and generosity in their conduct. The disposition of mind generated by aristocracy is unquestionably preferable to that produced by slavish habits; and on the most superficial view, as well as on a more intimate acquaintance with the various classes of men who acknowledge the authority of the Ottoman sultans, we cannot hesitate in assenting to the truth of the remark, that the Turks are the best people in their empire*.

Political, civil, and religious distinctions.

The Mussulman law divides into two classes all the inhabitants of the earth: those who profess the faith of Mahomet are called, without distinction of rites, sects, heresies, or opinions, by the general name of *musslim*, an arabic word signifying a person resigned

* See Observations on the religion, laws, &c. of the Turks, p. 73.

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to God; the dual of which is *musulman*, and the plural *musliminn*: the nations, who deny the divine mission, and reject the doctrine, of the prophet, are confounded under the common denomination of *keafir*, infidel or blasphemer, a wretch wandering in darkness, whose eyes are shut to the light of revelation. Thus all infidels form but one and the same people. The inhabitants of the Ottoman empire and the nations by which they are surrounded, are, however, discriminated with greater accuracy: the infidels, subject to their dominion and paying the capitation tax, whether Christians, Jews, or Pagans, are called *zimmys*: strangers, who, relying on the faith of treaties and the acknowledged laws of nations, either pass through their territories or reside within the empire, are called *musteeminns*, (men who have solicited mercy): it is however presumable, that such expressions are not meant to convey insult to foreign nations, as they are also applied to Mussulmans travelling beyond the empire or settled abroad: nations unconnected by treaty, or in actual hostility with the Ottoman porte, are described under the common denomination of *harby*, a word derived from *harb*, which signifies war. These expressions,

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which it must be confessed are harsh and unbecoming, are to be ascribed rather to the primitive Mussulmans, from whom they were borrowed, than to the Ottomans themselves, although the Turks, in common with all nations professing the same faith, still adhere to the use of them. The etymology and true meaning of the terms are unknown to the greatest part of the people; and it should perhaps be recollected, in extenuation of the conduct of the Turks in this respect, that modes of expression, scarcely less offensive, have prevailed among the people whom we are taught to admire and to reverence, who distinguished, with no less pride than the Turks themselves, between Greeks and Barbarians, Jews and Gentiles. The Turkish national appellation is *osmanli*, which we translate Ottoman; the word Turk is not unknown to them, but is applied only to persons of rustic and uncivilized manners. A *rayah* is an Ottoman subject of any nation, liable to the *haratch* or capitation tax: the Turkish peasantry are properly comprehended under the general name of *rayahs*, though, in the modern and more common acceptation of the word, it is restricted to that class of subjects whom the law denominates *zimmys*.

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Ghiaour is the opprobrious expression which the Turks address to infidels; but the word appears to have been originally *guebre*, or worshipper of fire. The Persian heretics are distinguished from the *sunni* (or orthodox) by the name of *schiys*, a name odious to the Turks, as they are taught to believe it to be more meritorious in the sight of God to kill in war a single Persian, than seventy infidels of any other religion*.

Means of redress against tyranny and oppression.

When the inhabitants of a city or a province are dissatisfied with the *pasha*, they present their complaints at the porte in a memorial or petition, called *arz mahzar:* but unless they accompany it with a larger sum than the *pasha* finds it convenient to give for his re-appointment, they seldom succeed in their application for his removal. Contestations of this public nature, as well as those between private individuals, are determined, not by the evidence of facts or the force of arguments, but by the specific quantity of gold which either party can produce in support of his cause. In the capital, inaccessible as the sultan personally is to the

* "Alia res est, inquit Rustanus. Nos enim, ne sis nescius, magis aversamur Persas, magis profanos habemus quam vos Christianos." (Busbeq. Epist. iii, p. 126.)

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complaints of his people (since all memorials on what business soever ought first to pass through the hands of the grand vizir), his attention is notwithstanding sometimes aroused by the clamours, and other unequivocal proceedings of his turbulent subjects. In his passage to the mosque every Friday, he receives, through the hands of one of his attendants, whatever petitions are presented to him. It was in this manner, that M. de Villelongue succeeded in delivering into the hands of Sultan Ahmed an accusation, in the name of Charles the Twelfth, against the vizir and the principal ministers of state, which was supposed to have effected the complete change in the Turkish cabinet, which soon after took place. Rycaut mentions a method of appeal to the grand signor which ancient custom had tolerated, but which I apprehend is now disused, as I never heard of its being practised. "The aggrieved person," he says, "putting fire on his head, enters the seraglio, runs in haste, and can be stopped by nobody until he comes to the presence of the grand signor, to whom he has licence to declare his wrong*." The method which is most

* Present state of the Ottoman empire, p. 46. Rycaut, who considers himself bound to pray equally for the honour of his

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commonly adopted, and which I have seen followed up with the most persevering obstinacy, is to set fire to different parts of the city: when it is discovered, from their frequency, that these fires are not accidental, the sultan is alarmed, inquires into the cause of the public discontent, discovers it through his emissaries from public conversation, and is ultimately compelled to yield to the wishes of the factious. Insurrection is the misfortune to which unlimited power is most subject: it is frequently the work of an instant, the produce of accident; but when once excited, it seldom stops at the redress of grievances: the insurgents must be subdued by force, or the monarch must descend from his throne: happy if he may be allowed to wear out the remainder of his days in the vacant prison of his successor.

Majesty's embassy, and the profitable returns of the Levant Company (see p. 216), highly approves of the compliance of Sir Thomas Bendysh with this degrading and slavish custom. The worthy ambassador, he says, ordered pots of fire to be put on the yards of eleven English ships then in port, in order to represent to the grand signor the grievances suffered by the merchants. Mignot (Hist. Ottom. t. iii, p. 76.) divides the demerit of this measure with the French and Dutch ambassadors, but he attempts to extenuate the humiliation by adding, "Cette flotte présentoit l'idée de la menace plutôt que de la plainte."

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CHAPTER III.

ADMINISTRATION OF CIVIL AND CRIMINAL LAW.

Justices and magistrates.—Mehhkémé or tribunal.—Practice of the courts of law.—Administration of civil law.—False witnesses.—Inaccuracy of investigation.—Avania.—Proceedings in criminal cases.—Torture.

Justices and magistrates.

THE Mussulman law ordains, as a fundamental maxim of state, that in all countries, provinces, or cities, into which the Mahometan religion has been introduced, or whereever believers are united together by the institutions of civil society, two superior offices of magistracy shall be established, to which the judicial administration and the public force are confided. Both departments are comprehended, in strictness of expression, under the denomination of *hakim*, but, in general, this term is applied only to ministers of justice of all orders and classes, while that of *zabith* distinguishes and comprehends all civil governors and officers charged with the

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execution of the laws, the care of the police, and the maintenance of public order. From te word *hakim* is derived *mehhkémé*, the name of the Turkish tribunals, which signifies the sanctuary of justice.

In Constantinople every district has its *mehhkémé*, in which a *cadi*, attended by his *naïb*, sits, and hears causes. These magistrates, as well as those of the superior classes, hear and determine all causes, civil and criminal. They also take cognizance of whatever relates to ecclesiastical dogmas, rites, morality, or discipline. They judge all suits respecting the *vacufs* (or church possessions) within their respective jurisdictions. They perform moreover all the functions of a public notary; and they legalize and register marriage-contracts, powers of attorney, wills, and covenants of every kind.

Mehhkémé or tribunal.

Nothing can be more simple and expeditious than the forms of proceeding in all the Turkish courts. Each party represents his case, unassisted by counsellors, advocates, or pleaders of any kind, and supports his statement by the production of evidence. The deposition of two competent witnesses is admitted as complete legal proof, in all

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cases whatever, whether concerning property, reputation, or life.

Practice of the courts of law.

It has been asserted, that "it is the general characteristic of the Turkish government to be loaded with forms and regulations, which are of no effectual service." How little this censure is applicable to the Turkish courts of law, is evident from the simplicity with which law-suits are conducted in the *divan haneh*, or vizir's tribunal. Before the vizir takes his seat, all the parties assembled in court are ranged in two rows, with a *chaoush** at their head. The trial begins by reading the case of the plaintiff who is first in order of precedence; after which, both parties are publicly heard; a proper officer of the court briefly sums up the whole matter, and declares what sentence, according to the divine judgment, ought to be passed. If the vizir approves the sentence,

* There are two sorts of *chaoushes* among the Turks. Some are employed, in the *divans* of the vizir and the *pashas*, to receive the petitions of the plaintiffs, to communicate the orders and decisions of the court, and to see that the sentences are carried into execution. Others, in time of war, do the duty of adjutants in carrying the verbal or written orders of the sultan, the vizir, or the general in chief, to the officers of the army. (See Cantemir, p. 407, note 19. Marsigli, t. i, p. 89.)

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it is inserted in the vacant space of the *arzuhal* (or petition), and is confirmed by the vizir's signature. The *arzuhal* itself, be the case ever so intricate, must be comprised in about half a page, in order that room may be left on the other half for inserting the substance of the consultation on the subject, and the *ilam* (or sentence) of the judge. During the examination of one case, the parties and papers, necessary for elucidating the next in order, are put in a state of preparation; so that a new cause immediately commences; and so on until all are despatched. An *oda* (or company) of janizaries is appointed to guard the vizir's palace; they are employed to bring accused persons into court, and to watch over the prisoners. They are called *muhzur* from their office, and the nature of it may be discerned from the form of a citation. "Go," says the *muhzur aga*, "and order such a person immediately to appear; if he hesitate to obey the summons, cleave him through the head and the eyes, and produce him in that state."

Administration of civil law.

It is erroneous to suppose, "that the judges are not bound by any preceding decrees, but that they have the application of the law in

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their own breasts.". On the contrary, we learn from Abulfaragius, that, in ancient times, when any doubt arose as to the legality of an opinion or an action, the lawyers, in the first instance, had recourse to the *koran*, and if they found a text which applied to the case before them, they immediately determined it. If it were unnoticed in the *koran*, they sought for a solution of the difficulty among the traditional precepts of the prophet: if these too were silent, they founded their sentence on the opinions of the *imams*, and the commentaries of the orthodox doctors. The code *multeka*, ever since the period of its compilation in the reign of Soliman the First, is almost the only book made use of by the *cazy-askers*, the *mollas*, the *cadis*, and the *naïbs*, in all the tribunals and courts of law throughout the whole extent of the Ottoman empire. It is expressly enjoined to the *cadis*, in the sultan's diploma which invests them with their judicial powers, to follow the most prevailing opinions of the *imams Hanefys* in the administration of justice; and although the instructions given to the *mollas* are not so explicit in this respect, they are nevertheless restricted to the ob-

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servance of the same rule in their practice *.

The distribution of *fetwas*, or decisions on questions in law and equity, whether of a public or private nature, forms an important branch of the office of *mufti*; yet even in the exercise of this function, if any question is presented to him on a subject which has not been discussed by the fathers of Mussulman legislation or their commentators, the *mufti* does not dare to give a decision, but simply declares, that he finds nothing of a similar nature in the canonical books. Government alone has the privilege of consulting the law on points which relate to the administration of public affairs. Individuals of all classes may, however, apply to the *mufti* for information and advice on cases of conscience, or of civil and criminal law: and previously to engaging in a lawsuit, it is customary for both parties to take out a *fetwa* on their case, as stated by them-

* "Although Abu Hanifah be the acknowledged head of the prevailing sect, and have given his name to it, yet so great veneration is shown to Abu Yusuf and the lawyer Muhammed that, when they both dissent from their master, the *musulman* judge is at liberty to adopt either of the two decisions, which may seem to him the more consonant to reason, and founded on the better authority." (Jones's Works, Vol. iii, p. 510.)

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selves. The *fetwa*, therefore, in civil causes, should be considered, not as the sentence of a judge, but as the opinion of counsel, in which the difficulty and the solution are presented under the form of question and answer, written in a small character on a sheet of paper nine inches long and four inches broad, and delivered to the parties on the payment of five *paras*, or about two-pence of our money. The collection of *fetwas* issued by a succession of *muftis*, as it embraces all the subjects of the code *multeka*, is now so extensive that Toderini counted fifty-five volumes in the library of Sancta Sophia *. The most celebrated of these compilations are used in every tribunal as a commentary on, or illustration of, the general code of laws, and for the guidance of the magistrate, who, however, exercises a discretion as to the admissibility of their authority, or their application to the point in dispute. I once saw a *fetwa* produced by the plaintiff on a trial, while I was attending at the house of a magistrate. He read it with great respect, and commended the justness of it; but "I am *mufti* here," said he, and placing it under the cushion on which he sat,

* See Tab. Gén. t. iv, p. 510—530. Toderini, t. i, p. 40.

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determined the cause, without any appeal or reference to it. Another opinion of the *mufti*, as I was told, was produced in court, in a case in point, and the person appealing to it, said, "such is the will of God." "Be it so," said the *cadi*, "but if the will of God were to be always observed, the world would stand still*."

Sir James Porter says, "it is not the Turkish laws, but a corrupt administration of them, which brings opprobrium on the empire." But the most necessary laws, and without which any code is defective, are those which provide for, and secure, an upright administration. In Turkey the laws indeed are simple, and by no means numerous; and the forms are little complicated. Their administration, however, differs according to the circumstances of the parties, or their rank in a political point of view. The Turk has rarely to complain of injustice; and, generally speaking, the decision of the judges, in causes wherein both parties are Mussulmans, is unbiassed. Public opinion,

* It must be observed, that the *muftis*, or doctors of the law, occupy only the second rank in the Mussulman hierarchy. In every city of the Ottoman empire, with the exception of the capital alone, they yield the precedency to the *cadis*, or judges.

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which is no where more free or more energetic than among the Turks, checks the voluntary commission of any injustice with respect to them. I have seen the *cazy-asker*, in his own tribunal, abused by women, with a licence which nothing could equal but the patience and submission with which he bore it, while the inferior officers were endeavouring to pacify them, and gently get them out of the court.

False witnesses.

The Christian and Jewish subjects of the empire are an inexhaustible treasure, not only to government, but to individuals. From this source a tribe of extortioners, false witnesses, and embroilers, all who are too idle to dig, and too proud to beg, draw, without the imputation of infamy, the means of subsistence. It is impossible to conceive an idea of the effrontery of the false witnesses, who are encouraged by impunity. The punishment appointed for a false witness is only the shame of being led through the streets, seated upon an ass, with his face towards the animal's tail. But even this punishment, which cannot be supposed to have much effect upon such abandoned profligates, is scarcely ever put in execution. The vizir alone can punish them; the other

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magistrates are compelled to pronounce according to their deposition, unless they can detect them in duplicity, or embarrass them by their questions*.

Among the Mahometans written testimony is of no avail, when opposed by living witnesses. But the treaties with all the Christian powers set aside this law in favour of their subjects, who are accordingly allowed

* Busbequius supposed, that the Turkish false witnesses were actuated only by hatred against Christians. "Turcæ magnæ pietatis loco ducunt dicere falsum testimonium adversus hominem Christianum. Non expectant ut rogentur; injussi adsunt, seque ultro ingerunt." (Epist. iv, p. 227.)

"All the learned lawyers of Mohammed's religion, with whom I have conversed in different parts of India, have assured me with one voice, that an oath by a *muslíman* is not held *binding on his conscience*, unless it be taken *in the express name of the Almighty*, and that even then it is incomplete, unless the witness, after having given his evidence, swear again *by the same awful name*, that he *has spoken* nothing but the truth. Nor is this abstruse or refined learning, but generally known to *Mohammedans* of every degree, who are fully apprized, that an imprecation on themselves and their families, even with the *koran* on their heads, is in fact no *oath* at all; and that, if having sworn, that they *will* speak truth, they still utter falsehoods, they can expiate their offence by certain religious austerities; but that, if they forswear themselves in regard to evidence *already given*, they cannot, except by the divine mercy, escape misery in this world and in the next." Sir William Jones's charge to the Grand Jury, Calcutta, June 10, 1785. Vol. iii, p. 14.

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to support their claims by written evidence. The executors of a person under the English protection claimed from a certain sultana the payment of a sum of money, in virtue of a written obligation certifying the loan. The defendant denied the debt, alleging, that she had paid the principal before the decease of the claimant, but that he had detained the notes and pledges, with a view of compelling her to pay interest, which she had resisted, on the ground of its being contrary to the divine law. Her witnesses asserted, that the money had been paid to the deceased in their presence: the judge affected to give credit to their testimony, and urged to the plaintiffs the necessity of admitting so clear a proof; but suddenly turning to the witnesses, "what," said he, "was the name of the deceased merchant's father?" The abruptness of the question threw them off their guard, and they confessed, that they could not tell. "Not tell," said the judge, "how then can you expect, that I shall admit your evidence?" and immediately ordered an *ilam* in favour of the plaintiff.

The judge was indeed authorized by the usage of the Turks to require the witnesses

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knowledge of such particulars; for as they have not among them surnames or family distinctions, it becomes necessary, in order to prevent confusion, to insert in a contract or official instrument not only the names of the parties, but also those of their parents. I have heard it asserted, that the judge is supposed to invalidate the testimony of a witness, if he can put to him any question whatever relating to the business in discussion, to which the latter is found unable to reply. In the case which I have related, the judge had been *preconvinced* of the futility of the defence, or he would not so readily have determined upon the case.

Peyssonnel, in his zeal to vindicate the Turks, attempts even to excuse their toleration of false witnesses. "Testimony," he says, "is the basis of all proceedings in criminal affairs, and is of great weight in civil affairs, Among all people, unfortunately, false witnesses are every where too numerous." But it is in Turkey alone, that the *profession* is avowed, and the individual personally known in every tribunal.

Inaccuracy of investigation.

The prompt decision of the Turkish tribunals has been praised by men who may have observed, that patience and property

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are frequently exhausted by the forms, delays, and expenses, attending law-suits in Christian countries, but who have not reflected, that where injustice is authorized, promptitude of decision only assimilates it the more to an act of violence. Some idea may be formed of the precipitancy with which law-suits are determined in Turkey, by the following instance. Cantemir, in commendation of the vizir Chorluly Ali Pasha, with whom he was personally acquainted, says, that "when he was sitting in the divan no one could behold him without admiration; for he was a person of so much quickness and dexterity, that he could attend to three things at once, as if he had divided himself into three parts. For the quicker despatch of business, he ordered two petitions to be read at the same time, and understood each cause as perfectly as if he had heard it three or four times, giving thereupon a suitable sentence. In the mean time he hearkened to others that were pleading before the *cazy-asker*, and delivering back the *arzuhal* to him, told him what sentence he was to give. He was so great a lover of justice that many affirm, that he never gave an unjust sentence*."

* Cantemir's Ottoman History, p. 446, note 6. It appears from the "Extract of the letter written from Constantinople in

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The European merchant, obliged to appeal to the laws of the country, is, equally with the *rayah*, exposed to the consequences of their venal administration, and must hope for success, not from the justice of his cause, but from undue influence, or from bribery. Hence the aversion from carrying disputes before the Turkish judges, and hence also credit and confidence, the bases of commerce, are undermined and destroyed *.

the year 1527," that even in the reign of Solyman the Lawgiver the administration of justice in Turkey was no less corrupt than at present. " Pour fait de question ou cas litigieux qui survienent aulcunes foys Nous en avons telle coustume quant il ya deux personnes en question la deduction sen fait par devant celuy qui de ce en a la charge de par le Turcq : et fault que tout ainsi que iceluy juge en determinera soit bien ou mal prendre ou donner il le fault aussi ensuyr. Et combien que le juge ordonne de par le turc soit si merveilleusement enioinct et sur peine destre brochie den faire bonne justice si advient il souvent que a grant peine peult au poure homme demeurer a la tierce partie de ses biens. Et dont il se doibt gouverner et encore luy va bien quil ne pert point la vie. Vous nestes pas seulz pardela qui se complaindent de justice je vous asseure quelle est bien petitement administree pardeca je nose dire que lon juge plus par fauveur pardeca que vraye justice."

* A *fetwa*, extracted by the Chevalier D'Ohsson from the collection published by the *mufti* Behhdje Abd'ullah Effendi, will shew how precarious are the means which an European can employ to obtain justice in Turkey.

" If Zeid, a stranger in a Mussulman country, having a lawsuit with Amr, offers in favour of his cause the evidence of Bekir

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Avania. In civil causes, the Europeans, in virtue of the capitulations, pay three per cent. on the amount of the sum which constitutes their claim: the subjects of the country pay ten per cent. But, as the gainer pays the costs of suit in order that the judge may not lose his fees, the privilege granted to the European is in fact a disadvantage. The evil consequences of the gainer being burthened with the expenses of a law-suit, besides the injustice of such a mode of satisfying the court, are evident. A Turk will institute a vexatious suit against a *rayah*, in which he risks nothing, and may eventually avail himself of all the uncertainty of the law: the *rayah* is placed in a dilemma, from which he cannot escape without injury: he may be unsuccessful in his suit; and the least disadvantage he can hope for, is the payment of the costs; so that, in most cases, he finds it expedient to compound the business. I knew a person against whom an annual claim was made for a room in the upper part of a house, which he had built himself. He had bought off the first action; and this conces-

and Beschir, both of them strangers, can their depositions be received in justice? Answer. No." (Tab. Gen. t. iv, p. 526.)

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sion was construed, by the opposite party, into an acknowledgment of his right, and the *rayah* was subjected, in consequence of it, to the payment of a tribute till his death. This species of robbery, which constitutes the chief riches of the Turkish populace in the great cities, is distinguished by the name of *avania*. The law indeed is equal, and, in the true spirit of it, extends the same protection to the believer and the infidel; but, in its administration, *the household of faith* enjoys peculiar privileges. The testimony of a Mussulman outweighs the clearest proof which a *rayah* can adduce, and a conviction of perjury, which entails severe, if not capital, punishment on the one, procures for the other only a gentle admonition to combine circumstances with less confusion in future*.

The Mahometans themselves seldom seek legal redress for an insult. If not able to take revenge with their own hand, they quietly

* The superior validity of a Mussulman's testimony will be more evident from the following examples. The emperor Bajazet the First, who was much addicted to wine and debauchery, submitted to a reprimand from the *cadi* of Brusa, who refused to admit his evidence, because he neglected to perform the five daily prayers in common with the faithful.

" Les Musulmans non-circoncis semblent porter une sorte de réprobation aux yeux des autres Musulmans. On les appelle *akef*,

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submit to the oppression. Much less can a stranger expect justice: for, even if the judge were disposed to sacrifice his national prejudices to the duty of his office, the suffering party is induced by secret insinuations, and indirect menaces, to abandon his suit, and prefer suffering in silence.

Proceedings in criminal cases.

Although capital executions are frequent in Turkey, criminal justice can scarcely be said to be administered at all. The life of man, concerning which no deliberation can be too long, is hastily sentenced away, without reflection, according to the influence of passion, or the impulse of the moment. A complaint was preferred to the vizir against some soldiers who had insulted the gentlemen of the Russian embassy: the vizir made a horizontal motion with his hand, and before the conference was over, seven heads were rolled from a sack at the feet of Prince Repnin*. A man, caught in the act of pil-

et dans différentes matières, soit civiles, soit criminelles, leur témoignage n'est jamais recevable." (Tab. Gén. t. ii, p. 287.)

Such defects, which can invalidate the testimony of a Musulman, must necessarily operate with much greater force against that of a Christian, who lives habitually and constantly in a state of reprobation.

* See Voyage à Constantinople, p. 166. I give this story on the credit of a French gentleman, whom I saw at Constantino-

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fering property during a fire, has been thrown into the flames by order of the vizir*. A housebreaker, detected in robbery, is hanged up, without process, at the door of the house which he has robbed. Shopkeepers, or dealers, convicted of using false weights or measures, are fined, bastinadoed, or nailed by the ear to their own door-posts: but punishment is frequently inflicted on the innocent, while the guilty enjoy the fruits of criminality. A Swedish gentleman of my acquaintance, walking one day in the streets of Constantinople, saw the body of an Armenian hanging in the front of a baker's shop. He inquired of a by-stander for what crime the poor wretch had suffered. "The vizir," said he, "in passing by early in the morning, stopped and ordered the loaves to be weighed; and finding them short of weight, immediately ordered the execution of the person in the shop."

ple, but whose name I have in vain endeavoured to recollect. He travelled in company with Emile Gaudin, who afterwards officiated as secretary to the council of five hundred in the memorable sitting at St. Cloud. I have also heard other instances of similar atrocities.

* De Tott (p. 20.) ridiculously says, that "they consider this death as little different from dying in their beds, because they often see a multitude of unhappy wretches perish accidentally in the same manner."

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"Good God," said the Swede, "how severe a punishment for so slight a crime!" "It was thought severe," replied the Turk, "for the Christian was but a servant, whose wages were twenty *paras* a day, and whose master derived the whole benefit from the deficiency in the weight of the bread." And yet other Armenians had already occupied the vacant place, and were serving the customers with the greatest indifference. In September, 1792, the Greeks who had been taken on board Lambro's squadron in the Archipelago, were brought to Constantinople, and several of them were hanged on the yard-arms, or under the bowsprits of the prizes. Others were detained a few days in prison, and at length led out, and separately executed at the corners of different streets in Constantinople. A person, who was accidentally present, told me, that they were driven along by the Turks with the most unfeeling barbarity: by a push on the back the criminal fell on his knees, with one stroke of a knife his head was cut off, the body fell forward, the head was thrown between the legs, and the executioner passed on to inflict the same punishment on the others. A prisoner in the bagnio, during the last Russian war, was witness to

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the execution of two Turks, who for some crime had been condemned to die. The order for their death was concealed from them, the gaoler congratulated them on their deliverance. "Go," said he to one of them: "thank God you are free." And as the man stooped to pass through a low door, a cord was thrown about his neck, and he was instantly strangled. The other was told to sit down, that his irons might be knocked off, and was strangled while the smith was performing the work*.

The punishments, usually inflicted on criminals throughout the Turkish empire, are represented by the more ancient writers as the refinement of barbarous cruelty†. But, as far as I have been able to judge from the practice of the metropolis, there seems in general to be no intention of wantonly prolonging the sufferings of the condemned person. If he be sentenced to death, the readiest mode of execution is instantly adopted. Strangling, beheading, and drowning, are the only capital punishments used in Constanti-

* See the account of the revolution at Constantinople in the year 1730, published in Lord Sandwich's Tour, which bears every mark of authenticity and correctness. The same illusory method of proceeding was employed to take away the lives of the chief courtiers, who were obnoxious to the rebels.

† See Montalbanus, apud Elzevir, p. 31, 32.

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nople for all classes of offenders, though impaling is sometimes practised in the provinces on public robbers*.

In the provinces of Greece, the villages, which are peopled by the *rayahs*, are made responsible for all highway robberies and assassinations which are committed within their districts, on the presumption, that, by proper vigilance, they might have prevented them. If a Turk or an agent of government be robbed or murdered, the inhabitants are fined, and if they are suspected of complicity, their village is sentenced to military execution. On information being given to the *pasha*, he sends out a detachment of his body-guards with full powers to search after, and apprehend, the offenders. They sur-

* The manner of impaling and of fleaing alive is described by the Chevalier d'Arvieux, who was an eye-witness of the infliction of both these punishments at Rosetta in Egypt. (Memoirs, t. i, p. 220—222.) The following extraordinary account is supported only by the authority of Purchas, (Pilgrimage, chap. x, sec. i, p. 335.) but the parson of St. Martin's, though he appears to have believed, does not vouch for the authenticity of the story. "They have also another invention to twitch the offender about the wast with a towell, enforcing him by often pricking to draw up his breath, till they have drawne him within the compasse of a spanne: then tying it hard they cut him off in the middle, and setting the body on a hote plate of copper, which seareth the veynes, up-propping him during their cruell pleasure: who not only retayneth sense, but discourse also, till hee bee taken downe, and then departeth in an instant."

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round the village nearest to the spot where the crime has been committed, and immediately summon the heads of it to appear before them, to give in a list of the present number of inhabitants, which they compare with the last returns, and to declare, and surrender, all the strangers who may be found among them. Those who are unacknowledged by the primate of the village, are seized, and led away for examination, or are instantly put to death. The requisite number of victims must be produced to the *pasha* on their return; and if they fail in apprehending those on whom suspicion can justly alight, they complete the list by beheading any unprotected persons who are so unfortunate as to fall into their hands, and thus they sometimes satisfy the demands of justice without inflicting punishment on any one of the guilty*.

Laws for preventing the abuse of authority in parents or masters and the exertion of individual revenge, either do not exist in Turkey, or are slightly enforced, and easily evaded. The Mussulman governments, in general, do not seem to be sufficiently aware, that society itself is injured by offences committed against individuals; and that justice

* See Pouqueville, t. i, p. 239, 324.

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is not satisfied by a mere reparation of the injury to the sufferer. Private revenge is tolerated by the express declaration, and by the example, of Mahomet, who indeed recommends forgiveness to his followers, but acquits them of sin, if the measure of vengeance do not exceed the measure of injury *.

"Murder," says Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, "is never pursued with the king's officers, as with us. 'Tis the business of the next relations to revenge the dead person; and if they like better to compound the matter for money (as they generally do), there is no more said of it." It is indeed true, that the robber and the murderer, when detected in the commission of the crime, are hanged up, or shot, or impaled without mercy; yet, if they escape the first fury of pursuit, or wish to retreat with their earnings into society, they are readmitted without difficulty, and almost without a reflection on their past conduct.

A Greek *calfa* (or builder) in the service of the present sultan, died in the month of June, 1792, leaving about twenty thousand pounds sterling, which he had amassed during his continuance in employment. His

* See Maracci, prodrom. ad refut. alcorani, cap. xxiv, p. 65.

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effects were seized by government, as is usual, on the supposition of their having been gained in its service. His widow, reduced from affluence, in the first transports of her grief, accused her son of the murder of his father. The young man had intrigued with a servant girl of the family, and would have married her; but the father, to prevent it, had dismissed her from his service. Upon his mother's accusation, he was imprisoned, and would have suffered; but the mother's tenderness awoke, and her conscience was alarmed; she threw herself at the feet of the judge, retracted all that she had before said, accused herself of precipitancy, occasioned by grief for the sudden death of her husband, and now as strongly asserted her son's innocence. The judge, however, was hard to be convinced: he had his doubts and scruples, which there remained but one mode of dispelling. The remains of her husband's fortune, which her prudence had preserved from the vigilance of government, afforded the only hope of carrying home conviction to the breast of the conscientious judge; and the sacrifice of two thousand pounds was necessary to procure the reversal of the decree.

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Torture. Torture is secretly, but not unfrequently, practised. The motive for inflicting it is generally to extort the confession of concealed property; and the scene of these inhuman proceedings is a building within the walls of the seraglio, called the oven because it was formerly used as such by the *bostangis*. The rich *rayahs* are frequently employed as bankers to the vizir and other great officers of state, a charge hazardous at best, and sometimes fatal; for though the advantages of it are great, and the influence which it procures is flattering to vain or ambitious men, yet they are exposed to the prying eyes of a suspicious court, and are usually involved in the ruin of their employer. The minister, knowing the uncertainty of his continuance in office, and apprehensive, that his riches will be swallowed up in his disgrace, secretly lodges money with some confidential person, from whom, through caution, he takes no written acknowledgment. This he keeps in reserve against the evil hour, or, should his life terminate with his office, directs the disposal of it to those for whom no provision can legally be made. On the deposition of a public minister, therefore, his

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bankers, and others suspected of intimacy with him, are applied to for the delivery of all which they possess in his name. If the sum fall short of expectation, they are tortured, till they either confess, that they have more, or till they supply the sum required from their own capitals: but, if they are rich, even this confession does not always save their lives. I was acquainted with an Armenian, who had been confined and tortured into the renunciation of all his hereditary and acquired property*. His partner, more resolute, had resisted, even to death, all the horrible means employed to force him into a confession; and by this means he left his family in affluence. I have listened with horror to the relation of their sufferings, which were aggravated by the constant presence of the executioner, who would insultingly complain of the fatigue of his morning's duty, and exact from them the most menial services, and at every repast dip into the same dish with them his hand reeking with their blood.

* This was Couléli, banker to Raghib Pasha, whose sufferings are mentioned by De Tott, p. 187.

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CHAPTER IV.

MILITARY FORCE OF THE OTTOMANS.

Military divisions of the empire.—Feudal system of the Ottomans.—Ziamets and timars.—Janizaries.—Agemoglans.—Other bodies of infantry receiving pay from the porte;—topgis,—gebegis,—sakkas.—Cavalry receiving pay from the porte.—Serratculy or troops receiving pay from the pashas.—Order of encampment. Tents and camp-equipage.—Method of supplying the army with provisions.—Order of march and battle.—Modes of fighting,—and of defending their fortresses.—Recapitulation.—Turkish laws of war.—Treatment of prisoners.—Turkish navy.

Military divisions of the empire.

THE military establishment of the Turkish empire is an extensive militia, which was exceedingly formidable before standing armies were introduced among other nations, and when the constant practice of war had inured the Ottomans to hardships, taught them discipline, and familiarized them with danger. Their maintenance was provided for by a suitable allotment of land, according to the

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feudal system. The empire, as its boundaries were enlarged by successive conquests, was divided into the great and lesser *pashaliks*, whose governors united the military with the administrative powers, and in each province a third part of the lands were distributed as military benefices among the soldiery*.

The *beylerbeys*, considered as military commanders, were subordinate only to the vizir, and presided over all the other governors. The *pashas*, according to their dignity and the extent of their districts, summoned to their standards the *beys*, the *agas*, and the possessors of lordships under the names of *ziamet* and *timar;* besides whom, there was generally a crowd of needy or fanatical adventurers, who repaired to the place of rendezvous, equipped and armed according to their fancy or their means†.

* See Mignot, discours sur les finances, t. iv, p. 448.

† A *pashalik* is divided, as to the military part, into districts called *sanjacs*. The governor, or *sanjac bey*, assembles the *janisaries*, *spahis*, *zaïms*, and *timariots*, of his jurisdiction, and waits the orders of the *pasha*.

Sanjac properly signifies a standard denoting the authority of the commanding officer: by a natural transition the same name is used for the military division of a department, and by ellipsis for the officer himself. (See Busbeq. epist. 1, p. 7, Marsigli, t. 1, p. 18. Cantemir, p. 116, note 1.)

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Feudal system of the Ottomans.

. The feudal system, as established in Turkey, though it resembled in its leading features that which was introduced in all those parts of Europe where the Northern nations settled themselves, was in several particulars essentially different from it. In those countries the victorious chief assigned to his principal officers extensive tracts of land, which they subdivided among their inferior officers, and they again among the soldiers; each superior exacting from his immediate vassal the same fealty by which he had bound himself to his own immediate superior, whether the sovereign or a mesne lord. Hence arose the great power of the barons, in whose defence, or at whose instigation, their subordinate vassals have sometimes taken up arms, in opposition to, or in defiance of, the authority of their common sovereign. In Turkey all the land is held immediately from the sultan, and all grants, on the demise of the incumbent, vest anew in him. The reciprocal feudal obligations, which confirmed and cemented the relations between the nobles and their vassals, are there unknown: so that between the *pashas* and the inferior feudal proprietors, there exists no tie of generosity and benevolence on the one hand, or of gratitude and affec-

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tion on the other; and though there be indeed subordination of rank, there is no concatenation of dependence. When inconveniences were felt from the abuse of the power of the lords, and the oppressed vassals, though they obeyed the summons to the field, were yet indifferent and even hostile to the cause in which they were engaged, a remedy was adopted in several European states by making the fiefs hereditary, and taxing the lands with the condition of furnishing a certain number of soldiers, armed and equipped; so that a numerous and powerful army was instantly assembled, and at once ready for action. In this æra of the feudal history, when knight-service was introduced, the system more resembled that of Turkey, except that there the grants always continue precarious, and dependent on the pleasure of the sultan, as universal proprietor, who, however, in order to encourage his subjects to spill their blood in his service, usually confers the fiefs with all their privileges and advantages on the children of those who die in battle, and allows a veteran, disabled by age or the accidents and hardships of war, to send his son as his substitute, who succeeds to the estate on the death of his fa-

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ther*. Vassalage, properly speaking, does not exist, as all are equally crown-vassals; and from their being independent of each other, they can never form a counterpoise to the power of the sovereign†.

Ziamets and timars.

On the conquest of a country the most powerful among the ancient inhabitants either fled, or were prevented by death from giving umbrage or jealousy to their new masters: a new race of Turkish colonists supplied their places, who exacted the services and received the homage of the conquered people. The lands of these newly created *ziamets* and *timars* were cultivated by the *rayahs*, who paid to the lord of the manor, as the rent of their farms, the tenths of the produce and the increase of their stock. To the people of Europe, who were groaning under the tyranny and rapacity of the nobles, such

* See Marsigli, t. i, p. 96.

† "Les sultans ont conservé en Europe l'ancien usage qu'ils avoient pratiqué en Asie, de donner à leurs soldats des fiefs à vie.—Ils ne prirent point cette coutume des califes Arabes qu'ils détrônèrent. Le gouvernement des Arabes étoit fondé sur des principes différens. Les Tartares Occidentaux partagèrent toujours les terres des vaincus: mais les Ottomans ne donnèrent jamais que de petites terres. Leurs *zaïmats* et leurs *timariots* sont plutôt des metairies que des seigneuries. L'esprit guerrier paroit tout entier dans cet établissement." (Voltaire, essai sur les mœurs, chap. xci, t. 17, p. 443. Paris, 1784. 8vo.

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terms appeared advantageous, and such servitude light. "I have seen," says a contemporary writer, "multitudes of Hungarian rustics set fire to their cottages, and fly with their wives and children, their cattle and instruments of labour, to the Turkish territories, where they knew, that besides the payment of the tenths, they would be subject to no imposts or vexations*." The institution of these military fiefs is so essentially necessary for the support of the Ottoman government, by distributing over the conquered provinces a body of proprietors who are perpetually ready to take the field, and who are impelled by the sentiment of self-preservation to watch the motions of the people and to enforce their obedience to the sultan, that the conquests which were made in Persia by Murad the Fourth were considered as even injurious to the state on account of the universal emigration of the ancient inhabitants. The Turkish soldiers refused to accept of *timars* in a depopulated country, and the sultan was obliged to maintain, at a great

* Leunclavius, apud Elzevir. in Turç. imp. statu, p. 85.

"Domino timarrotæ decimam tantum frugum animaliumque præbent, ac nihil ultra tenentur." (Montalbanus, ap. Elzevir. p. 68.)

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expense, from the public treasury, the troops and garrisons necessary for the defence of that frontier*.

According to the *canon nameh* (or imperial constitutions) compiled by order of Soliman the First, the number of *ziamets* (or estates estimated at the value of five hundred acres of land or upwards†), amounted to three

* " Ma quello, che lo fa temere piu d' ogn' altra cosa il Persiano, è la spesa grande, ch' egli fa nel paese conquistato, et negli regni che gli ha tolti. Onde si può quasi con ragione dire, che questa a lui sia la Fiandra del re di Spagna o la Candia di Veneziani; perciochè la spesa è grandissima, et la rendita di poco momento, essendo in questo accaduto a' Turchi quello che non è occorso mai in altri regni o provincie acquistate, di non poter far *timari* et feudatarij à quali poi sia raccommandata la guardia del paese, et accresciuti con questa nova militia li esserciti dell' imperatore. Il che è proceduto dal mancamento d' huomini, li quali parte fuggiti alle montagne parte salvati in altre città del re di Persia hanno privato il paese d' habitanti, però li soldati Turchi non vogliono accettare *timari* perchè non hanno il modo di far lavorare i terreni, con i quali possano tenere i cavalli descritti per nuovi *timarioti* in augmento dell' essercito. Et per questa istessa cagione le gabelle delli paesi acquistati sono indebolite; anzi non rendono alcuno utile. Onde conviene ad Amurath pagare li presidij del suo *cazna* et questi sono molto grossi come conviene alli stati di conquista, et confinati con inimico tanto potente, et d' incertissima fide." (See a manuscript in the Harleian collection in the British museum, No. 1872. Relatione dello stato, nel quale si ritruova il governo del imperio Turchesco quest' anno 1594.)

† Toderini (t. 1, p. 51, note 2) in quoting this passage from Marsigli (t. 1, p. 27, note) substitutes *perches* for *acres*. Mar-

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thousand one hundred and ninety-two; and the number of *timars* (or estates valued from three to five hundred acres of land*), amounted to fifty thousand one hundred and sixty; and the whole furnished a revenue of nearly four millions of rix-dollars, which was appropriated to the maintenance of an army of upwards of a hundred and fifty thousand men*. Each of the feudal lords, whether *zaïms* or *timariots*, were enjoined, by the charter by which

sigli, in another passage (chap. lii, p. 95) says, that the revenue of a *ziamet*, arising from the tenths of the estate, cannot be less than 20,000 aspers, and that the proprietors are bound to arm one man for every 5000 aspers exceeding that sum. The smallest revenue of a *timar* is fixed at 5000 aspers, but if it do not exceed that amount, the proprietor alone is bound to join the army. This account agrees with that of Rycaut. (book iii, chap. 2, p. 172.)

* See Marsigli, Stato militare dell' impèrio Ottomanno, t. i, p. 184. "Equites enim *centum quadraginta quinque mille* detinet: quorum octuaginta mille quasi in hybernis per Europam distributi sunt, cæteri quinquaginta mille per Asiam. Hi sunt qui spachi timarrotæ vocantur; quia non annuo stipendio pecuniario sustentantur, sed assignatis agris detinentur eo pacto, ut tot equos ad bellum alant quot agrorum assignatorum proportio postulat. (De urbe Constant. et imp. Turc. relatio incerti apud Honorium in Turc. imp. statu ap. Elzevir, p. 117.)

Olivier (v. i, p. 190,) says, "it is computed that there are in the European part of the empire 914 *zaims* and 8356 *timars*: the number in Asia is nearly the same; and the whole furnish a militia of above 60,000 men."—Mr. Eton, whose statement is incorrect, though perhaps not entirely imaginary, reckons 182,000 men. (Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 65.)

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they held their estates, to take up arms on the summons of the sultan, to remain encamped as long as he judged it expedient, to return home, at their own charge, and, at the same time, to maintain their stipulated contingents of cavalry or infantry. In case of disobedience, or neglect to join the standard of their district, the feudal lords of Asia were fined the amount of one year's revenue, and the *timariots* of Europe were punished by being deprived of their rank and emoluments during two years*. By this institution the sultan was provided with an inexhaustible supply of soldiers, continually augmenting as the empire became more extended, and was thereby enabled not only to carry on war without any additional expense, but even to derive from war itself the means of increasing his finances†: for whenever vacancies happen, whether from death or forfeiture, the sultan immediately becomes invested with the power of filling them up with new appointments; and it is asserted, that the same lordship has been eight times successively disposed of in the course of one campaign. During the

* Marsigli, t. i, p. 95.

† Montalbanus, ap. Elzevir, p. 16, 17, 25.

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continuance of the war the *xiamets* and *timars* are granted to those among the volunteers who, in hopes of obtaining such rewards, have signalized their valour; but it is probable, that the number which remains to be disposed of at the peace, according to the usual traffic of the porte, must always be considerable.

All the lands were not, however, exhausted by these partitions: the revenues of some were appropriated to mosques, to the great officers of state, to the mother and mistresses of the sultan, to children of the imperial family, or to the sultan himself; and the residue, burthened with a territorial impost or land-tax, was left by an undefined tenure to the ancient proprietors. These, if Mussulmans, had the privilege of going to war: others, whether Turks or infidels, who, from choice, or from civil incapacity, devoted themselves exclusively to the arts of peace, and enjoyed their estates under the common protection of the crown, were called *beledis* or *rayahs*, and their military service was commuted by a tribute. The Mussulman proprietors of this description thus formed the national, and the feudal proprietors, the feudal militia. Enthusiasm and the hopes of

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reward or plunder formerly collected and held together the great bodies of men, whom the Ottoman sovereigns were enabled to call into the field: but now, as it has been justly stated, if their enthusiasm do not even evaporate during the preparation for the expedition, it seldom survives their arrival at the camp, where they soon learn the difficulty of conquering, and the greater probability of being overpowered and plundered by the infidels*.

Upon a declaration of war, all the inhabitants of a district, from sixteen to sixty, are summoned to join the standard of the *pasha*, and to rendezvous at a certain place. The feudal soldiery join from duty, and the obligations of their charter; but the national militia consult their inclination, both as to the nature, and the term of their service. If they like the war or the commanders, they join the army; but are not, even then, obliged to serve out the campaign†. The

* See Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 69.

† "Le gouvernement militaire est devenu la constitution fondamentale de tous les états Musulmans. Chaque individu s'y reconnoît soldat: toujours il est prêt à prendre les armes et à marcher sous l'étendard du prophète. On doit enfin considérer la nation entière comme un grand corps d'armée dont le souverain

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feudal institutions were once considered with justice as the chief support of the empire: but the services of neither militia can now be depended upon when required, nor are they as advantageous, when obtained, as they formerly were. There is a general disinclination to the military service, and the obligation to remain in the field is not permanent even upon the feudal troops. Their expeditions are regulated by the festivals of the Christian saints, George and Demetrius, whom they denote by the names of Hydyrlia and Cassim. A soldier is punished by mulct or disgrace, who delays to join the army beyond the twenty-third of April, old stile; but having served to the twenty-sixth of October, the judge of the camp cannot refuse him his certificate, and he may return to his home without being subject to pain or penalty*. This radical defect, according to

est le généralissime." (Tab. Gén. t. iv, p. 202.) See also, Observations on the religion, law, &c. of the Turks, preface, p. xxv.)

* Cantemir, p. 247. "Hybernam abnuunt militiam." (Montalban. ap. Elzevir, p. 26.) If Dr. Wittman had been acquainted with this circumstance, he would have been enabled to account for a conduct which he has misrepresented from the want of such previous knowledge. "November 25th. There had been latterly frequent *desertions*, both from the great encampment at Jaffa, and from that of El-Arish. It ought, notwithstanding, to be observed, that these *desertions* were not to the

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the modern system of warfare, vitiates, or rather annihilates, the utility of the institution; and, though the sultans have not yet claimed the right of imposing taxes as a substitute for that of commanding the services of their subjects, they are nevertheless forced to maintain a standing army.

Janizaries. The military order of the janizaries was instituted in the year 768 of the Hegira, or 1362 of the Christian æra. They were first formed into a body of twelve thousand men, composed of captive Christians, of whom a fifth part, chosen from amongst the most comely and most robust, were appropriated to the service of the emperor. Their education, from their childhood, was such as to inspire them with courage and hardiness, and obedience to the strictest military discipline. Hagi Bektash, a religious Turk, famous for his miracles and prophecies, gave his benediction to the corps, at the request of Sultan Murad. Placing the sleeve of his gown on one of their heads, he prophesied, "that their hand should be victorious, their sword keen, and their spear hang over the heads of their enemies:" and his prediction was lite-

common enemy, but into the interior of the country. It frequently happened, that the troops went off in large bodies." (Travels, p. 191.)

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tally fulfilled, as long as victory depended on personal prowess, together with the skilful management of hand-arms*. Their common general is the *janizar aga*, whose court and palace are in the capital. His rank gives him access to his sovereign, whom he is privileged to assist in public ceremonies, as he alights from his horse. His power over the subalterns is unlimited, and supersedes that of the civil magistrate, and even of the vizir. All promotions depend on him, and he is empowered to inflict punishment, even to death, upon the disobedient soldiery.

Of the janizaries, those who are quartered in their *odas* (or barracks) at Constantinople, those who are in garrison, and who have followed their kettle, are entitled to pay. Their number, according to the disbursements of the treasury, is forty thousand. In time of peace they watch over and secure the public and domestic tranquillity in the frontier and garrison towns, and exercise all the functions of police officers.

The janizaries have the privilege of being judged and punished for misconduct by their

* "Etenim post Amurathis tempora, qui primus janizarorum ordines instituit, nunquam eos acie integra pugnantes fuisse fugatos invenimus." (Jovius, Turc. rer. comment. Paris, 1538. 12mo.)

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own officers. The lieutenant of the company has power to put them under arrest: the place of their confinement is the kitchen, where they are left in irons under the charge of the cook. The captain may sentence them to the bastinado, and the sentence is executed under the inspection of the lieutenant. The time of inflicting the punishment is after the evening prayer: the offender is conducted to an inner chamber, and stretched out with his face towards the ground: two of the oldest janizaries hold him down by the neck and the feet: the *vekil hardj* (or commissary) attends with a lighted candle; and care is taken, in distributing the blows, which seldom exceed forty, not to disable the sufferer from marching. After the execution of the sentence, the lieutenant exhorts the bystanders to avoid the commission of such faults as have subjected their comrade to a disgraceful and rigorous chastisement. When a janizary is sentenced to death, it is customary (out of respect to the corps which ought to be kept exempt from ignominy) to strike his name off the lists before his execution. Whatever crime he may have committed, his punishment is invariably that of strangling. At Constantinople the execution

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is always performed with the greatest secrecy, and the body is thrown into the sea and carried away by the current of the Bosphorus. In provincial towns the custom is still continued of announcing the death of a janizary by firing a gun; but it has long since been abolished in the capital*.

* Marsigli, t. i, p. 75. What shall we say to Dr. Pouqueville? He has worked up in his best manner a pathetic representation of his own feelings, when, in the middle of a fine night, just after the equinox of autumn, his meditations in the garden of the Seven Towers were interrupted by the report of a gun. I confess myself unequal to the task of doing justice by a translation to the doctor's description of the beauty of the scene,—the moon suspended *like a chandelier* in the starry vault of the sky, the oscillation of the waters of the Bosphorus, and the universal stillness of nature. The doctor was giving a loose to his imagination: he was thinking of the gayeties of Paris and the comforts of a family party, when suddenly his ears were struck with the noise of a cannon, and his hair still stands on end at the recollection. The tender hearted doctor immediately conjectured it to be a signal of distress from a vessel which was suffering shipwreck (an idea which could have occurred to no other mortal besides himself, in a night such as that which he has just described): but another gun, which re-echoed along the shores of Europe and Asia, disconcerted the doctor so much that he applied to the guards in order to learn the cause of it; and "*they told him*, that this dreadful language of battles announced to the vizir, who was sleeping in his *harem*, the execution of his orders. Some janizaries had just undergone the punishment of death; and their bodies delivered to the maddening currents of the Bosphorus already rolled down the Propontis." "The number of guns," the doctor observes, "corresponded with that of the persons

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The muster-rolls of the janizaries, as well as those of every corps of Ottoman troops, magnify their numbers beyond the truth, for the privileges annexed to the military profession engage most of the Mussulmans to enrol themselves; but those who do not join their standard, are called *yamaks* and receive no pay. The reason of their attaching themselves to military bodies, is this; the Turkish population is divided into *askeris* (or warriors) and *beledis* (citizens or townsmen), and according to the law, a Mahometan, unconnected with any military corps, is, equally with infidels, subject to the capitation tax, and must equally contribute to all imposts on the cities, towns, or villages; and though

executed." (Voyages en Morée, &c. t. ii, p. 140.) I am sorry, that truth compels me to dissipate so pleasing a fiction. I myself was at Constantinople at the period which Dr. Pouqueville has fixed upon as the date of this event, and *I know, that no guns were fired in the night*; for so unusual a circumstance would have excited universal alarm, and would have furnished conversation to the whole town. And again, even though the doctor might not have known, that the *janizar aga* alone has power to condemn a janizary to death, and that such executions are secretly performed in the capital, yet the guard could not have been so ill informed as to have misled him into such inaccuracies; and the doctor himself must certainly have known, that the vizir, instead of slumbering in his *harem*, was in all probability kept waking with anxiety in the camp of Jaffa, and brooding over the inefficiency of his army.

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this law be not rigorously enforced, it still engages most Turks to enrol themselves. The embodied janizaries follow the canons of Sultan Soliman for their regulation and discipline; but the *yamaks*, who, though enrolled, are not embodied into *odas*, are dispersed throughout the empire, living as burghers, mixed with the people, and following different trades and professions, or idle vagabonds, or at best but labouring peasants.

The writers on Turkish affairs have been led into misrepresentation on this, as well as on every part of the Turkish institutions, by taking too confused a view of the subject. Sir James Porter considers the army to be composed of the body of the people, and the janizaries to amount to two or three hundred thousand men, independently of those who get themselves enrolled to enjoy the privileges. Peyssonnel supposes, that they may consist of many millions. Baron De Tott calculates them to be four hundred thousand; and finally Mr. Eton, who asserts, that he has made his calculation "from the concurring testimony of several persons who had the most intimate acquaintance with it, from an application of many years, and with means of acquiring the best information," computes

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them to be an hundred and thirteen thousand four hundred*. But the number of effective

* See Observations on the religion, laws, &c. of the Turks, preface, p. xxiii, xxiv, and xxviii. Peyssonnel's Strictures and remarks on De Tott's memoirs, appendix, p. 259. De Tott, v. iii, p. 134. Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 65.

I have quoted the precise words with which Mr. Eton prefaces his estimate of the military force of the Turks. I have however discovered with no small degree of surprize, that the estimate itself is (with the addition indeed of thirty-five men to every four companies) a copy of a schedule, which was published in a work entitled "The present state of the Ottoman empire, translated from the French manuscript of Elias Habesci, many years resident at Constantinople in the service of the Grand Signor. London, 1784." Now who is Elias Habesci, on whose labours Mr. Eton founds his claim to the gratitude of the public? An ignorant impostor, who calls himself a Greek, and yet pretends to have written his work originally in the Arabic language (preface, p. iv.); who abuses the nation to which he pretends to belong, and even dares to say (p. 367.), that "*their priests are the most abominable race of men upon earth;*" an idea which perhaps was never conceived, and certainly was never expressed, by a Greek of Constantinople. But this *pseudo-greek* betrays himself by his language; he compares the porte to Westminster-hall, and tells us, that the Bosphorus is somewhat broader than the Thames at London (p. 354). His ignorance is unparalleled: he says (p. 422.) "the city of Constantinople has Moldavia for its boundary to the North; the Hellespont and the Black Sea on the East; Bulgaria and part of Macedonia on the West; the Ægean Sea on the South." It would be an insult to common sense to make further extracts from such a work, and I even feel it necessary by way of apology to explain, in some degree, the motives which have induced me to draw such a wretched performance from the obscurity into which it seems to have sunk from the moment of its birth. *I have discovered the author by*

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janizaries is best determined by the amount of their pay. Two thousand four hundred purses are issued every six months from the treasury; a sum which allows thirty piastres a man for an army calculated at forty thousand*. This allowance, which is commonly

the internal evidence of the book itself: but to name him would be to hold him up not only to general contempt, but to general indignation; for the book is the work of an assassin, who from his dark retreat has directed his envenomed shafts against the reputation of individuals and the peace of families. I do not however extend this censure to the author of *another publication under the name of Elias Habesci, printed at Calcutta;* a chaos of absurdities, which, to the disgrace of the English name in India, is dedicated, *by permission*, to Earl Cornwallis. This author confesses, that his real name is not Elias Habesci, which, he says, is an enigma (though probably he means an anagram) on *sahib-el-sicia*, which in the Arabic language, he tells us, means friend of the unfortunate; but I believe we need not seek for its derivation in the Arabic language; *alias A, B, C*, is the ridiculous conceit which has seduced this "par nobile fratrum" into the unbecoming practices, of which I earnestly desire they may now repent.

I omitted, in the former edition of this work, the real names of the authors alluded to in the preceding note, because I thought the allusion itself would be sufficiently intelligible. If, however, curiosity still remain ungratified, I may be allowed to mention, that not only all doubt on the subject is removed from my mind, but that the alphabetical series of the imposture is completed, by the publication of the letter to the Earl of D*** (London, 1807), and the acknowledgment (p. 97), that the schedule of the military force of the Turks, inserted in Habesci's work, was procured in the year 1777 by a Greek of the name of Figa.

* See in confirmation of this estimate, Montalbanus, ap. Elzevir, p. 6. Cantemir, p. 219, note 4. Sandys's travels, p. 48. ed. 1627.

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distributed to them in quarterly payments, was equal, at the institution of the corps, to about a shilling sterling a day; but it is now reduced, by the debasement of the coin, to about one quarter of its original value.

It is said, that "the preservation of their colours in battle is not an affair of such momentous concern with the janizaries as that of the two large copper kettles which are constantly placed in the front of the tents of each regiment, and which are accompanied by a skimmer, a ladle, and a kind of halbert. On a march their kettles are carried in front of each respective regiment, and the company, who should suffer them to be taken by the enemy, would be covered with infamy." It is from this practice, says De Tott, that the colonel is called the *giver of soup*, the major is stiled *head of the kitchen*, and the *scullions* and *water-bearers* are adjutants. But De Tott, who was himself enrolled in the company of janizaries who were garrisoned at Perecop, should have known better, or should have disdained to sacrifice truth to such a pitiful jest. The captain or commander of a company is indeed called *tchorbaji*, probably from his superintending the distribution of the daily rations of soup to the men, but no other

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subaltern officer is distinguished by a name denoting menial occupations. The cook is simply called by his proper appellation, although he occasionally acts in the capacity of a gaoler*.

In Constantinople the janizaries receive their pay within the second court of the seraglio. The money, which is put in bags of yellow leather, each of which contains five hundred piastres, is first brought into the divan, and the purses are piled up in heaps before the vizir: it is then told out and distributed in proportionate lots to the *tchorbajis* of the different *odas*. The bags composing each of these lots are laid on the pavement before the door of the divan, and on a signal being given, the janizaries of the company appointed to receive them rush forward, and each man endeavours to collect as many

* (See Marsigli, t. i, p. 69. Dr. Wittman's Travels, p. 236. De Tott's Memoirs, v. ii, p. 70, and v. iii, p. 106.) The officers belonging to each company of janizaries are distinguished by the following names. *Tchorbaji*, or captain; *oda bashi*, lieutenant (literally the head of the chamber); *vekil hardj*, commissary; *bairacter*, ensign; *bash eski*, standard-bearer (literally the head of the veterans, from the office being generally conferred on the oldest janizary of the company); and *aschgi*, or cook. The superior officers, from the *janizar aga* to the *chaoush* (who may be considered as an adjutant), have titles which accurately express the nature or duties of their respective posts.

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purses as possible, although he derives no other advantage from it, than the honour of carrying them on his shoulder to the barracks, where the distribution of their pay is made to the privates.

An indiscriminate censure has been passed on the whole body of janizaries, from an observation of that part which is only nominally attached to it. Their degeneracy is differently accounted for; by some it is attributed to their being for the greater part married and settled; to their practising mechanical arts; to their being allowed to exempt themselves from military service for money, or under various pretences; to their enrolling their children in their company or *oda*; and to their being enervated by the luxury of the capital and weakened by indolence*. But individually considered, the janizaries are in

* I have copied these reproaches *verbatim* from the works of *modern* travellers; but the reproaches themselves are not of modern invention, for I find them expressed to the same effect in a treatise (Ex politeia regia) in Elzevir's collection. "Hæc militia nostro tempore multum eviluit, quia etiam Turcæ in janizzaros assumuntur, sunt et Asiatici, quum primum non alii quam Christiani Europæ admitterentur: deinde, quia uxores ducunt, præter antiquum morem, nec id ipsis vetitum est: tum, quod propter longam moram Constantinopoli *(qua non alia urbs magis est deliciis dedita)* multum viluerunt: segniores insolentes, imo intolerabiles evaserunt."

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no respect inferior to the Christian soldiers, either in bodily strength, in the capacity of supporting fatigue, or in promptitude of obedience to their officers*. The luxury of the capital, the least luxurious in Europe, can scarcely have an enervating effect on men whose pay, even when augmented by the profits of labour, can with difficulty procure them the necessaries of life. I rather impute their present inferiority to the insufficiency of the constitutional laws of their establishment, which, from the prejudice against innovation, it has been found impossible to new-model, and which did not provide for future improvement, proportionate to the progress of European tactics. Their ancient discipline has been relaxed from an experience of its insufficiency; and their past reputation has now no other support than native valour and

* "I *jenizeri* anno avuto sempre per iscopo la dipendenza totale de' loro uffiziali; perciò nelle loro operazioni si sono resi in ogni tempo illustri." (Marsigli, t. i, p. 69.) "Du reste on ne peut souhaiter dans des troupes plus de discipline, d'obéissance, de ponctualité et de respect pour leurs officiers." (D'Arvieux, t. i, p. 448.) "Tribus vero de causis Turcæ, quam milites nostri, meliores sunt, prima est, quia prompte obediunt imperantibus: quod inter nostros rara fit."—"Tertia, quia absque pane et absque vino diu vivere possunt, oriza et aqua contenti. Sæpenumero etiam æquo animo carent carnibus." (Jovius, Turc. rer. comment. p. 49.)

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enthusiasm, dispirited and overawed by the wonders of modern warfare, and the acknowledged superiority of European sciences.

The sultans themselves have been accused of bastardizing and rendering contemptible the corps of janizaries, by cutting off the most eminent of their leaders, and supplying their places with the meanest creatures of their court, and by introducing among the soldiery men occupied in the lowest employments, and stained with the most infamous crimes, till at length they have succeeded in extinguishing every spark of that fire which alarmed their fears*. The historical event to which Mr. Eton seems to allude, is the conduct of Ahmed the Third, who in the year 1703 succeeded to the throne, after the deposition of his brother Mustafa. The dethroned sultan communicated to his successor, together with the tidings of his elevation, the admonition not to suffer the treacherous rebels, the instruments of his advancement, to escape with impunity; and although Ahmed, by inheriting his resentment, certainly contributed to the debility of the empire, yet his revenge was directed, not against

* Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 29.

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the institution of the janizaries, but against the promoters of the insurrection, in whatever department of the state, who might be tempted, by the success of their late rebellion, to plot new treason against himself*. We learn indeed from history, that the power, and consequent insolence, of the janizaries have frequently excited in the sultans apprehensions as to their personal safety, and have induced them to attempt by secret and insidious measures to weaken their authority, or even to abolish the order. Osman the Second was suspected of concealing, under the avowed intention of performing the pilgrimage to Mecca and of paying his devotions at the tomb of Mahomet, the design of aiming at the destruction of the corps of janizaries with the aid of a new militia, which he purposed to establish in Egypt. The *ulema*, the ministers of state, and the officers of the army, remonstrated in vain: the sultan persisted in his pious design; but his violent

* "Le nouveau sultan, pour toute récompense d'une couronne qu'il devoit aux ministres, aux généraux, aux officiers des janissaires, enfin à ceux qui avoient eu part à la révolution, les fit tous périr les uns après les autres, de peur qu'un jour ils n'en tentassent une seconde. Par le sacrifice de tant de braves gens il affoiblit les forces de l'empire; mais il affermit son trône, du moins pour quelques années." (Voltaire, Hist. de Charles XII, liv. iv.)

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deposition and premature death more firmly riveted the power, and confirmed the arrogance, of the janizaries*. Mahomet the Fourth, urged by similar motives of jealousy, is said to have given the first mortal blow to the power and reputation of the janizaries. By the advice of his grand vizir Kioprili Oglu, he connived at the introduction of abuses into their establishment. The daily exercises of the different companies were no longer rigorously enforced, nor the reviews at stated periods regularly observed. The soldiers sunk into indolence†: they consumed in sloth and dissipation the hours which ought to have been devoted to discipline and the military duties: they even quitted the laborious exercise of arms to follow mechanical or other lucrative occupations.‡ To this cause Count Marsigli, who surveyed the military state of the Ottoman empire in the camps and capital of Mahomet the Fourth, imputes the discredit into which the janizaries had already fallen. He must indeed be allowed to be a competent judge of the effects of that

* Tableau Général, t. i, p. 409.

† "Ut armorum desuetudine longa imbelles redderentur: amant namque otia Turcæ." (Montalban. ap. Elzevir, p. 98.)

‡ Stato militare dell' impèrio Ottomanno, t. ii, p. 5.

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negligence which he condemns; but he may perhaps err in attributing to the jealousy or timidity of Mahomet the deterioration of this military order. The whole reign of Sultan Mahomet was passed in war, and his authority with the army was so great that, when at last he was irritated by the obstacles and delays which had protracted the siege of Candia, he ordered it to be proclaimed in the camp, that not a soldier should appear alive in his presence, unless the city was taken; and such was the effect of his menace, that the Turks, by a more vigorous effort, effected the reduction of a place which had occupied the chief force of the empire during the long interval of thirty years*. It is possible, that under Mahomet less attention was paid to the discipline of the janizaries, and that less care was bestowed on the choice and education of recruits; but I think it by no means probable, that his conduct was dictated by fear, or by a deliberate wish to enfeeble the forces of his empire†.

* Cantemir's Ottoman history, p. 258, note 1.

† The Venetian bailo (who appears from a passage in his memorial, p. 117, to have written it soon after the conquest of Cyprus in the reign of Selim the Second, and more than a century before the vizirship of Kioprili Ogla) describes the janizaries as

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Agemoglans.

To the care which was formerly bestowed during the noviciate on habitual preparation for the hardships of the military life, and to the strictness and severity of subsequent discipline, may be ascribed the martial character and long supported reputation of the janizaries. The boy destined to be enrolled in this honourable corps was chosen, on account of his athletic make and vigorous constitution: he was instructed and trained with as much care as were the Roman soldiers. The corps of *agemoglans* was the great school whence alone it was lawful to select recruits for the army of the janizaries.

The constitutional laws established by Sultan Murad, the founder of this military institution, directed, that no one should be received among the janizaries unless he were of the race of the *versemé* (tributary children), and had been previously educated among the *agemoglans**. The custom which was first introduced by that monarch of keep-

having already fallen from the virtue and merit of their predecessors; and consequently, as their debasement was confessedly gradual, it cannot be wholly imputed to Mahomet the Fourth. "Antiquam nihilominus virtutem deserentes, paulatim corrumpi videntur: propterea quod plerique Turcarum filii, qui militariter educati non sunt, ad hujusmodi militiam passim admittuntur; ac proinde ita perfecti non evadunt, ut veteres fuere janizzari, qui res admirandas gessere." (Relat. incert. ap. Elzevir, p. 122.)

* See Marsigli, t. i, p. 67.

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ing up the number of the janizaries by a seizure of every fifth prisoner, fell gradually into disuse, probably on account of the discontents which it occasioned among the captors. When it was abolished, a tax of five piastres a head was levied on all slaves brought into the city for sale. But the necessity for increasing the standing army afterwards gave birth to a new law which ordained, that the tenth son of the Christian subjects of Greece and Romelia should be taken for the service of the sultan, and enrolled among the *agemoglans**.

* See Cantemir, p. 38, note 12. I have followed Cantemir in his account of this conscription; but it may be necessary to show in what particulars he differs from other authors. Busbequius, (de re mil. cont. Turc. instit. consilium, p. 298) says, "Mittit *quotannis* Turcarum princeps certos homines in diversas provincias, qui de paucis e Christianis hominibus natis tertium aut quartum quemque legant." Rycaut (p. 80.) says, "It was the custom formerly amongst the Turks *every five years* to take away the Christians children." In this particular Rycaut's testimony is confirmed by a work entitled "La genealogie du grand Turc, et la dignité des offices, et ordre de sa court, avec l'origine des princes, et la maniere de vivre, et cerimonie des Turcz. A Lyon, par Benoist Rigaud, 1570," but it differs somewhat from the account given by the author of the letter written from Turkey in the year 1527. "Item il fault tousjours donner de trois filz lung a lempereur et ont ses ppascha le choix lequel quilz veullent prendre: et diceulx enfans lempereur en faict des gens de guerre quilz nomme janitzery: les ungs a chevaulx les austres de piedz selon que on apperçoit son inclination."

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An inference has been drawn, from the operation of this law having been confined to Europe, that the Turks had learned from experience, that soldiers were not to be sought in the climates of effeminate Asia*. But whatever inferiority might anciently have been discovered in the Asiatics, when softened by the long enjoyment of riches and tranquillity, and the enervating effects of a despotic government, it is now obvious to common observation, and is confirmed by the events of the Ottoman history, that the Turkish subjects of the Asiatic provinces are not less hardy and warlike than the bravest of the Europeans†. Sultan Murad could never have intended, by limiting his claim only to the prisoners made in Europe, to cast reproach on the continent which had given birth to his ancestors, and to infer, that the native Turks were inferior in military capacity to the nations whom they had subdued. Conquest had already diminished the captives of Asia, and the more extensive propagation of the Mahometan faith in that division of the empire, did not permit the same stretch of authority over the strongest and tenderest affections of

* Gibbon, V. xii, p. 59.

† See Volney, voyage en Syrie et en Egypte, t. ii, chap. xi.

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nature. The inhumanity of this tribute, which was sufficiently grievous in itself, was augmented by the unrestrained abuse of power in the officers appointed to collect it. They not only selected those children whom the parents appeared most anxious to retain, but they far exceeded the number which they were authorized to levy, and thus became rich from the sums which they exacted for the admission of substitutes, or for the redemption of the supernumeraries*. The *rayahs* complained during a long period, but their complaints were unheard or disregarded. The custom was, however, finally, though gradually, abolished by Murad the Fourth, at the instance of the feudal proprietors, who at length discovered, that the value of their estates was diminished by the oppression of the cultivators†.

When once enrolled in the books of the *agemoglans*, the youth were placed in the service of the prince or his *pashas*, or delivered over for a term of years to serve under the Mussulman peasantry in the labours of

* " Car un pauvre Chrestien despendra aucunesfois tout ce qu'il a au monde à ce qu'il ne perde son fils et avec ce son ame." (Généalogie du grand Turc, &c. p. 53.)

† See Marsigli, t. i, p. 27. Cantemir, p. 255, note 1.

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agriculture, and to be initiated in the doctrines of islamism: their bodies were thus habituated to endure the inclemencies of the seasons, and to undergo the fatigues of war: they were prepared by penury and abstinence to support hunger and thirst, and were improved in obedience by the discipline of servitude. Their masters were summoned to produce them whenever the service required supplies, and they were drafted into the chambers or companies of the janizaries. Those who had been received into the sultan's household, were employed in the laborious services of the seraglio; in cleaving wood for the use of the kitchen, or in rowing the gallies across the Propontis to load and transport, from the coasts of Asia Minor, the materials necessary for the repairs of the palace or the construction of public edifices; six hundred were employed under the carpenters and caulkers in the imperial dock-yards; and upwards of ten thousand, under the name of *bostanjis* or gardeners, were distributed in the seraglio, and other palaces of the sultan in Asia and Europe. On the first admission of a recruit among the janizaries, he performed the menial services of the kitchen and offices; but at the same

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time he was daily initiated in military exercises and the use of arms by the most skilful of his comrades. His pay was gradually augmented, but he was not admitted to a perfect equality with the other janizaries, or considered deserving of the pay of a veteran, until he had signalized his courage in actual warfare*. A spirit of emulation was thus diffused among the troops, and cherished by successive promotions; nor were military honours their only recompense: there are examples in history of men being raised from the ranks to the highest dignities in the state, and Soliman the First even gave his sister in marriage to Ibrahim, whom, from a private of the ninth company of janizaries, he had created grand vizir†.

It is the opinion of an impartial observer, that "the janizaries of the present day, however they may have relaxed from the discipline which in ancient times rendered them so formidable, may still be considered as the most select and regular of the Turkish troops. They are at the same time better and more

* See Busbeq. de re mil. cont. Turc. instit. consilium, p. 298, 303. Marsigli, t. 1, p. 77. Rycaut, chap. x.

† Cantemir's Ottoman history, p. 178.

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uniformly dressed and equipped than the other soldiers*."

The body of janizaries is divided into a hundred and ninety-six companies, which are distinguished by the devices on their colours, and by numerical order, according to the arrangement of their respective chambers in the barracks at Constantinople and that of their tents in the field: certain companies have likewise names descriptive of the offices which they hold in the court of the sultan, and the privileges with which they are honoured†. Some companies, from the merit of former services, enjoy a kind of hereditary pre-eminence, particularly the thirty-first. The order of janizaries furnishes also the only

* Dr. Wittman's Travels, p. 235.

† The janizaries of the 64th are called *sagargis*, keepers of the sultan's hounds; the 71st are called *samsongis*, keepers of the mastiffs. In like manner the *tumagis*, keepers of the grey-hounds and falcons, are the 68th company. The *seymeny avgilar*, huntsmen or sportsmen, are the 14th, 35th, and 49th. The captain of the 35th must have previously passed through all the ranks and offices of the company; and the *oda bashi* or lieutenant of the same company is the only one of that rank to whom it is permitted to marry. The *solaks* of the 62d and 63d march on each side of the sultan: their name, which is derived from *sol* the left hand, is given to them from their being equally expert in the use of their bows with either hand, so as never to turn their backs toward the sultan. (See Marsigli, t. 1, p. 71.)

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example of public anathema, or excommunication, in the whole history of the Ottomans. In the insurrection which dethroned Osman the Second a soldier of the sixty-fifth dared to lift his impious hand against the person of his fallen monarch, and insulted over his misfortune in the public streets of the city. Murad the Fourth, the brother and successor of Osman, punished the sacrilege by annihilating the company. The memory of the crime and the punishment is preserved and renewed twice in every month. On the Wednesday, when the distribution of candles is made to the different chambers, the sixty-fifth is summoned to receive its ration; but at the second citation, an officer solemnly pronounces, "let its voice be silenced; let it utterly perish*."

* Tableau Général, t. 1, p. 299.—It would be an injustice to the body of the janizaries, were I thus to leave them under the imputation of mutiny and rebellion, without extenuating, in some degree, the conduct which stains the annals of their earlier history, by confronting it with that of the modern janizaries. Dr. Wittman (p. 206.) relates the circumstances of an insurrection occasioned by a scarcity in the camp at Jaffa. "In the midst of their discontent they were willing, they said, to agree to two things, namely, that the English should have barley for their horses, because they were good friends; and that the horses which drew the guns should also be furnished with provender, as

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Other bodies of infantry receiving pay from the porte;

The janizaries form the principal branch of that division of the Turkish army which is distinguished from the *toprakly*, or feudal militia, by the appellation of *capiculy*, a word which properly signifies a slave of the porte, but which nearly corresponds with the modern term of soldier, inasmuch as it denotes that class of troops who receive their pay from the treasury of the prince. Next to the janizaries, the most important military establishment upheld by the Ottoman porte is that of the *topgis* (gunners or artillerymen), whose number is not fixed in the *canon nameh* of Sultan Soliman, but they are stated in the account of a modern traveller, who possessed talents of the first rank and all the means of acquiring information, to consist of thirty thousand men, dispersed throughout the empire like the janizaries, and obliged to join their standard when ordered*. Their general is the *topgi bashi*, whose authority is absolute in the different departments, The

topgis,

such a supply was necessary to the public service: but they could not consent, that any part of what was in store should be issued for the use of the great officers of state, as they could afford to make the requisite purchases."

* Olivier, Travels in the Ottoman empire, Egypt, and Persia, v. i, p. 195.

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barracks of the *topgis*, and the principal foundery of cannon, are situated on the northern shore at the entrance of the harbour of Constantinople, opposite to the seraglio, in the district called Tophana. The superintendance of the *topgi bashi* extends to all the fortresses and garrison-towns of the empire, which he supplies, according to the orders of the grand vizir, with artillery stores and ammunition, and keeps a register of the state of their respective magazines. The service of the *topgis* is not confined to the exercise of the great guns: part of them are employed in the foundery, and others form a corps of artificers, and construct gun-carriages and artillery waggons. De Tott describes the *topgis* as being subject to no discipline and never embodied, although forty thousand were enrolled and paid. It is to himself, we are told, that the Turks are indebted for the establishment of a new corps of artillery, for whose regulation he drew up a code, which was sanctioned with all due formality by the grand signor. I know not whether this account be exact or not; but certain it is, that the Turkish *topgis* of the present day, compared with those whom De Tott describes, are prodigies of improvement.

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"The officers of the British military detachment witnessed the artillery practice, and found it better than they had been led to expect. The Turkish artillery-men beat down the target several times, and their mortar-practice was by no means contemptible*."

gebegis. The *gebegis*, or armourers have their barracks in Constantinople near the mosque of Sancta Sophia: they are divided into sixty *odas:* they guard the public arsenal or repository of arms, *gebhaneh*, and their duty is to furbish and keep in proper order the different warlike instruments, and to distribute them on the day of battle to the janizaries. Their number is not correctly ascertained, but the sum appropriated for their annual pay is registered in the *canon nameh* at a hundred and ninety-two purses, or ninety-six thousand rixdollars†.

sakkas. "The Ottomans," says Dr. Wittman, "have introduced into their armies, among other beneficial regulations, the establishment of a corps of *sakkas*, or water-carriers, who attend in the field and on a march to supply the troops with water." Their num-

* See De Tott, v. iii, p. 132. Dr. Wittman's Travels, p. 8.
† Marsigli, t. i, p. 82.

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ber is unfixed, and they have no particular officers among them; but they obey the officer of the company to which they are attached. They carry water in leathern budgets slung across a horse, and as the consumption of water in a Turkish camp is prodigious, on account of the frequent ablutions which the Mahometan religion enjoins, the *sakkas* are in constant activity, and are distinguishable, even in a Turkish army, by the darker tinge of their complexion*.

Among the *capiculy* are also to be comprehended a corps of cavalry, consisting of fifteen thousand men, divided into *spahis* of the right, and left, wing, and distinguished by their red, or yellow, standards: they are paid out of the public treasury, from which two thousand and seventy purses are annually issued, and distributed among them in quarterly payments. The reputation of the Turkish cavalry has thrown lustre on the history of their armies, and perhaps, when in its most flourishing state, it was not inferior to that of the Mamelukes, which Denon calls the best cavalry of the East, and per-

Cavalry receiving pay from the porte.

* See Dr. Wittman's Travels, p. 303. Marsigli, t. i, p. 80.

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haps of the whole world*. It was formerly the custom, as a recompense for good behaviour and distinguished services, to promote the most deserving of the janizaries into the corps of *spahis*. Its deterioration is ascribed, by a writer of the sixteenth century, to a neglect of this rule, and to the long and destructive wars which Murad the Fourth carried on against the Persians. Great numbers of horses perished in every campaign from the want of forage, which was always severely felt, as it was the constant policy of the Persians to lay their country waste when they retreated before the invaders. The sultan was impatient of delay in the prosecution of the war, and the Turks, habitually improvident and careless of the future, exhausted the very race of their vigorous Asiatic horses, and were forced

* "Ii vero levis armaturæ sunt equites, equorum egregii domitores ac pugnandi arcu, lancea, scuto atque ense, quem cimitarram vocant, eousque periti, ut res supra vires humanas efficere, Mamaluchorum more, videantur." (Jovius, Turc. rer. comment. p. 45.)

Nothing can convey a better idea of the perfection of each mode of discipline, the Turkish and the modern European, than the description of a battle fought near Sediman in Upper Egypt between the French troops under General Dessaix and the Mamelukes and Arabs under Murat Bey. (See Denon, t. i, p. 238.)

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to recruit their cavalry from the European provinces beyond the Danube*.

The *pashas* of the provinces, from funds specifically appropriated to that purpose, levy corps of provincial troops, called *seratculy*, to assist in the operations of the grand army and to serve in the fortresses: these are not kept in constant pay, but embodied only in time of war or during the march of an army: they consist of *azaps*, or pioneers; *lagumjis*, or miners; and *hissarlis*, who assist the *topgis* in the artillery service.

Serratculy, or troops receiving pay from the pashas.

This great assemblage of force is however now felt and acknowledged to be insufficient, either for external defence, or for insuring domestic tranquillity; and the new troops, which have been successively embodied (among whom European tactics have, of late years, been partially but imperfectly introduced), offer rather a prospect of meditated improvement, than any actual amelioration of their military system. Mahmud Effendi, who was secretary of the Turkish embassy in London, and since promoted to the dignity of *reïs effendi*, printed, and published

* See Relatione dello stato, nel quale si ritruova il governo dell' Imperio Turchesco quest' anno 1594. MS. No. 1872.

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at Constantinople, in the French language, an account of the military establishments of the empire; but their effective force may be better estimated from the inefficiency of their operations, in conjunction with the allies, during the late Egyptian campaign.

Order of encampment.

General Koëhler, who afterwards commanded the British detachment which joined the grand vizir's army in the expedition against the French in Egypt, mentioned to me, that he had made inquiry of a renegado from our own country named Inguiliz Mustafa, respecting the order observed in the arrangement of a Turkish camp, and that Mustafa answered only by scattering about on the table a quantity of the small pieces of Turkish money called *paras*. But Mustafa, from a long residence among the Turks, had adopted so much of the figurative inaccuracy of Oriental language, that he willingly sacrificed a considerable portion of truth to the attainment of a jest, or a conceit. As such his reply must be allowed to possess some merit, particularly as it does not ill describe that general state of confusion which has been observed of late years to exist in the camps of the Ottomans; but we shall err if we adopt as a certain truth, what should be

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considered only as a sally of the imagination.

" The Turkish troops at Jaffa were observed to be encamped in the most confused and irregular manner, without any order in the positions they occupied; each individual having pitched his tent on the spot which was most agreeable to his inclination. The only regulation, that seemed to border somewhat on system, was that each *pasha* was surrounded by his own men. The carcasses of dead animals, such as camels and horses, were scattered in great abundance among the tents, and mouldered away without giving the smallest concern, or occasioning any apparent inconvenience to the Turkish soldiery*." It may perhaps be thought not uninteresting, to confront with this accurate description of the last Turkish camp which was formed the account which has been given of that of Soliman by Baron Busbeck, who surveyed it, by permission of the grand vizir, in the disguise of an oriental dress. This afforded him ample opportunity for making observations, and at the same time screened him from the impertinent curiosity of the

* Dr. Wittman's Travels, p. 121, 122.

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Turkish soldiers. He found the different bodies of infantry and cavalry arranged in the most admirable order: the most respectful silence and decency of behaviour prevailed in the camp: there was no brawling nor contention, no drunkenness nor licentiousness. But that which he chiefly commends, is their great attention to cleanliness: every thing, he says, which could offend the senses was carefully removed out of sight, or buried in the earth*.

When the formation of a camp is determined upon, for the purpose of collecting an army previously to its marching to the scene of action, a proclamation is issued to all the *pashas* and military governors, summoning them to repair to the imperial standard, with their respective bodies of troops.

According to an invariable rule, when the sultan or the grand vizir takes the field, their tents are pitched on the plains nearest to the imperial residence, and on that continent in which the war is to be prosecuted: the place of general rendezvous is indicated by their standards, consisting of seven, or of five, horse-tails. The troops from the different

* Busbeq. Epist. iii, p. 167.

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provinces muster at the appointed time, and arrive at the destined place, either singly, or in small bands formed from motives of private convenience and held together by mutual consent: so that this operation among the Turks, from the little order which is observed in it, cannot be considered as a military movement.

The routes of the troops from the most distant provinces are traced out according to the direction of the high roads. The *pasha* of Anatolia, when the war is in Europe, crosses the Bosphorus from Scutari, and forms his camp in the environs of Constantinople, keeping the city on his left hand. The troops of Media cross the Hellespont at Gallipoli, and leaving Adrianople on their right, march towards Philippopolis, where they wait for, or join, the grand army. Those from Aleppo, Damascus, and Egypt, embark at the nearest sea ports and proceed to Salonica in Macedonia: their cavalry however performs the journey by land, and passes over into Europe through Gallipoli.

From Salonica the Asiatic and Egyptian troops continue their march, through the city of Sophia and the valley formed by the river Vardar, to the borders of Lower Al-

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bania, where they encamp in the plains of Nissa, and are joined by the Albanians who descend from the high mountains of their province. Those of Bosnia cross the Save at Brod, and are joined by different small companies of Sclavonians, with whom they proceed to the general rendezvous. Rycaut asserts, that "no abuses are committed on the people in the march of a Turkish army; all is bought, and paid with money, as by travellers that are guests at an inn; there are no complaints by mothers of the rape of their virgin daughters, no violences or robberies offered on the inhabitants." And it must be observed, that Rycaut spake from experience; for he was sent by the English ambassador, the Earl of Winchelsea, to meet the grand vizir on his return from the wars in Hungary, and he not only remained several days in the camp, but returned together with the army from Belgrade in Servia to Adrianople*. But though the presence of the vizir, and the severity of the discipline established by him, might, in this instance, have enforced due subordination and proper conduct during the march of his army, yet a contrary practice

* Prelent state of the Ottoman Empire, p. 205.

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seems not only to have prevailed, but even to have been connived at by government, during the irregular marches of troops to join the great body of the army. Their progress has been compared to that of a torrent of burning lava. I have myself seen a small part of the devastation which they occasion, and have witnessed the cruelties which they commit. It is true, that in their journies they avoid molesting the Turkish inhabitants, but they enter into the villages and the cottages of the *rayahs* as into their own houses, and not only apply to their own use or to their own pleasure whatever attracts their attention, but exact a pecuniary recompense for the wear of their teeth, in return for their violation of the rights of hospitality. This I have seen; and I have also seen the inhabitants of a populous village abandon their houses, and fly to the mountains or the woods with their families and household furniture, disperse their herds of cattle, and bury their corn in pits, to avoid the ravages of a company of twenty warriors of whose approach they had received previous intimation.

The troops destined to compose the Ottoman army under the command of the *pashas*, *beys*, and other officers, are already in full

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march on every side to reach the place assigned them for a rendezvous, when the grand vizir, in the beginning of the month of May, takes public leave of the sultan, and proceeds to his head quarters in the camp, with a suite of about three or four thousand men. "It is impossible," says Dr. Wittman, "to contemplate these pompous ceremonies, and not to contrast them with the secrecy and silence with which the first movements of European armies are undertaken. It must be a trifling nation which can delay an expedition of importance, even for a single day, lest some little rite or ceremony should be omitted: and it is truly impolitic thus to advertise an enemy, for even months beforehand, of the advance of an army*." The observation, such as it is, is not to be attributed to Dr. Wittman, for he had not arrived at Constantinople when the vizir passed over to the camp at Scutari: but the charge against the Turks appears frivolous and unfounded, for whatever ceremonies may precede the vizir's quitting the capital in order to put himself at the head of the army, they do not serve to convey more

* Dr. Wittman's Travels, p. 10.

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speedy or more correct intelligence of such an event than an official notice to the same effect in the court gazette: and to require, that the vizir and the grand army should steal out from the extremity of Europe, and fall unawares upon a vigilant enemy on the confines of Africa, is, I think, imposing on the Turks a task, which the most wily Christian general would find it impossible to perform.

The grand vizir first encamps in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, in the plains about Daout Pasha. The office of *conakgi bashi* corresponds with that of quarter-master-general in our service. The importance of his duties must be evident, when it is considered how much the safety and prosperity of an army depend upon an intelligent system of castrametation. Every body knows, that a camp planned by able and experienced generals is as the order of battle: but that of the Turks is too frequently only a confused heap of tents and baggage, traced out in the form of a crescent, but huddled together without order or regularity. Such negligence, which nothing can excuse, becomes more deserving of censure, when it is consi-

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dered, that it is a dereliction of ancient practice, a deviation from the military statutes of their ancestors. The *conakgi bashi*, having received his orders from the vizir, or in the vizir's absence, from the *seraskier* (or general in chief), proceeds to trace out the camp, accompanied by the *conakgis* of the different *pashas*. The written orders delivered to the *conakgi bashi* relate only to the distribution of the janizaries, the infantry of the *serratculy*, the artillery, and the cavalry of the *capiculy*. As for the *toprakly* cavalry, the ammunition and provision waggons, and the head-quarters of the grand vizir, their stations are always uniformly ascertained, whatever may be the general plan of the camp. The central point, and that which determines the relative position of every other part of the army, is the tent called *leylek tchadir* (tent of the stork). It is higher than any other tent, and is erected on a single pole, which is painted red and supports a ball or globe of the same colour. Under the *leylek tchadir* the divan assembles, the councils of war are held, and justice is administered. In the front of it is the place of public execution, where death or lighter punishments are

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inflicted; and there also the heads are exposed of those who have been put to death in the provinces.

When the sultan takes the field, the *leylek tchadir* is covered with cloth of different colours, white, green, and red. When his Highness does not head the army, the tent of the grand vizir, which is formed on the same plan as that of the sultan, is situated immediately behind the *leylek tchadir*; the tents of the officers of his household, and the extensive stables for his horses are adjoining to the head-quarters. The military chests are piled up in front of the *leylek tchadir*. The officers of the treasury and the chancery, the *cazy-askers*, the *imams*, and the *kubbeh vizirs* occupy tents disposed in right lines, so as to form streets leading to the vizir's pavillion. The baggage and ammunition waggons are placed in a circle, which encloses the head-quarters of the grand vizir and the body of the camp.

The *spahis* of the *capiculy* are divided into two bodies, and posted on the right and left wings; the artillery and the *toprakly* infantry form a line in front; and the *toprakly* cavalry, headed by their respective *pashas*, are arranged in a semicircle which makes

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the exterior boundary of the camp. Between the head-quarters and the advanced guard, which is commanded by the *janizar aga*, are two corps of cavalry, whose horses are kept constantly saddled: the camp of the rear guard is also removed to a certain distance from the main body.

Such was formerly the general arrangement of the camp, which has been admired by military observers for the grandeur of its appearance which corresponded with that of a beautiful city: the tents of the chief officers resembling the palaces and mosques, those of the soldiers the private houses, while those of the tradesmen were disposed in imitation of a *bazar* or market place. But as to any order in the arrangement of the tents, it appears to have been unknown or disregarded: they were turned to the right or the left, according to accident or caprice; and the tents of the *pashas* themselves, though distinguished from those of the privates by their shape and size, and the ensigns of their dignity which were planted in front of them, indicated nevertheless the same contempt of method and regularity.

Tents and camp-equipage.

The stately pavillion of the grand vizir is not less distinguished from those of the prin-

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cipal officers of the porte by richness of ornament than by its spacious dimensions. It has been described as surpassing the magnificence of a palace; the materials being of the most costly stuffs, and the furniture resplendent with gold and jewels. For though the precepts of the Mahometan religion prohibit the men from indulging in the vanity and luxury of personal ornament, yet the Turks display in their armies a magnificence entirely opposite to the modesty of their usual appearance. The officers of the cavalry are mounted on horses whose harness is studded with gold and silver, and covered with housings of the most costly embroidery. The arms, the chief boast of the soldier, are in most instances provided by himself, and adorned with a profusion of expense.

The insignia of a vizir, governor of a province, are—the *alem*, a large broad standard, the staff of which, instead of a spear-head, is surmounted with a silver plate in the form of a crescent;—the *tabl*, or military music, consisting of nine drums, nine fifes, seven trumpets, and four cymbals;—the *tugh*, consisting of three horse-tails artificially plaited;—one *sanjac*, or standard, of green silk, and of the same form and size with Maho-

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met's standard;—and two large standards called *baïrak*. Other *pashas*, who are not honoured with the title of vizir, have two horse-tails with the other insignia. A *bey* has but one horse-tail, together with the standard. *Agas*, and others of an inferior order, are allowed only one *sanjac*, and no horse-tails.

The *bash-tchadir*, or pavillion of the grand vizir erected in the body of the camp, is encircled by canvas, so disposed as to resemble in some degree the walls and battlements of a castle, and so high as not to be overlooked. The chief advantage of this kind of intrenchment is, however, that it prevents the inconvenience or disturbance which might be occasioned by men or other animals stumbling in the night time over the cords of the tent.

The *pashas* also surround their tents with an enclosure of the same kind, but only breast high, lest, by too close an imitation of the magnificence of the vizir, they might seem to fail in the respect which is due to his exalted station. The tents are heavy and bulky: the conveyance of them occupies a considerable number of camels, horses, and mules, besides waggons drawn by oxen and buffaloes; so that if we form our opinion of

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the expedition of the Turks in their military operations from the nature of the animals which they employ, it must necessarily be unfavourable. As it requires a length of time to erect these moveable palaces, it is customary to have always two sets of tents, one of which is sent on the day before, so as to be prepared and ready for the reception of the grand vizir and the *pashas* on their arrival. The exterior ornaments of the *bash tchadir*, are a globe of gilded copper supporting a crescent, and a green cotton cloth which is spread over the upper part of the tent: the stakes and props are painted of the same colour; and an ornament peculiar to the grand vizir's tent, which no other officer however elevated in dignity dares assume, are garlands or festoons of crimson fringe, which are suspended between the stakes of the exterior enclosure and the poles or columns which support the tent.

The grand vizir's tent is open towards the direction of the line of march of the army, and his *tughs*, or horse-tails, are planted on each side of the entrance. The ground in the inside of the tent is covered over with carpets, and surrounded on three sides with an elegant sopha. It is hung round with a kind

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of patchwork tapestry, composed of different pieces of stuffs of various colours, sewed together so as to represent wreaths of flowers and branches of trees. All the other tents of the people of rank are decorated in the same taste, and furnished in the same manner, but with more or less splendour, according to the dignity and authority of those who occupy them. Even the tents of the common men have their sheep skins, and cushions stuffed with wool or hemp, which answer the purposes of a sopha.

Method of supplying the army with provisions.

The due supply of the army with provisions, as it is an object of the first importance, was formerly regulated with judgment and enforced with severity. Proper officers were appointed, and furnished with money, to procure, from the provinces nearest to the seat of war, the cattle and other necessary provisions, at a maximum fixed by the sultan's order. The *pashas* provided for themselves and their followers on the same terms as the sultan, who only furnished them with waggons, and other means of conveyance. But it appears from the report of Baron de Tott, that such is the ignorance or want of foresight of the commanders that, in their late campaigns, this essential

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duty was so ill performed that the Ottoman army was always placed in the extremes of excess and waste, or of want and discontent; and Dr. Wittman likewise observed in the camp at Jaffa, that every essential arrangement in the establishment of dépôts and magazines was neglected.

Busbequius, in his survey of the Turkish camp, examined the state of the butchery, where sheep and cattle were killed and distributed to the janizaries. He expressed surprize at the small quantity of animal food consumed by them, for there were not more than four or five sheep for upwards of four thousand men. He was told, that in general they preferred making use of the stock of provisions brought from Constantinople; and on inquring of what those provisions consisted, they pointed out to him a janizary, who was preparing in an earthen dish a mixture of different kinds of vegetables with a sauce of vinegar and salt: "but hunger," says Busbequius, "gave it its truest seasoning, and to the abstemious soldier it appeared more delicious than pheasants and partridges to pampered luxury*." His drink was the

* Busbeq. Epist. iii, p. 167.

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wholesome beverage of nature. Wine was strictly prohibited to be brought into the camp, and so sensible were the Turks of the irregularities which the free use of wine introduces among soldiers, that officers were usually despatched to shut up the taverns, and to forbid by proclamation the sale of wine, in any town through which the army was to pass. The provisions furnished at the expense of government are, flour, bread, biscuit, rice, *bulgur* (or husked wheat), butter, and meat, for the men, and barley for the horses. When circumstances permit they bake fresh bread every day, in ovens dug in the earth, and distribute it to the soldiers in portions of a hundred drachms (somewhat less than three quarters of a pound) per day: at other times they serve out biscuit, of which fifty drachms are a man's allowance, besides sixty drachms of beef or mutton, twenty-five of butter, and fifty of rice or *bulgur*. The cook of each company of janizaries receives the total of the rations, and distributes them in two meals, one at eleven in the morning, and another at seven in the evening, to messes consisting of seven or eight persons. In addition to the ration which is regularly allowed them, they receive

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a moderate pay, which does not exceed a crown per month.

An authentic document, preserved by Count Marsigli, will best explain the order of march, as it was formerly observed by a Turkish army. The advanced guard, consisting of Tartars and other irregular troops, were supported by the *pashas* of Romelia and Anatolia, and were placed under their command. The *seraskier*, or lieutenant-general of the vizir, followed with the troops and the *pashas* of Erzerum and Bosnia. Immediately after them came the *janizar aga* at the head of all the *odas* of janizaries. Then came the *topgi bashi* with the artillery, and the *gebegis* with the ammunition. The infantry of the provinces escorted their provision waggons. The *beylerbeys* and *pashas* followed in the rear of the provincial infantry. The *capiculy spahis*, of both the red and yellow standards, followed the provincial cavalry. Then came the grand vizir with the officers of the court and the ministers of state, who accompany him in his military expeditions. The provision waggons, each of them escorted by three foot soldiers, and the other baggage waggons were under the care of the commander of the rear guard, who accompanied

Order of march and battle.

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them to the camp, and who closed the march with four thousand men. The military march of the grand army is regulated by the vizir, whose orders are committed to writing by the clerks of his chancery, and are distributed to the different commanders by the officers under the control of the *chaoush bashi.*

When the Turkish army marches through the sultan's dominions, they observe so little order that, provided every man arrives at the camp in time for the evening prayers, each may pursue his march alone, or in company, in the manner most agreeable to himself, and may stop to rest himself on the road wherever he pleases. The advanced guard usually consists of five or six thousand horse, of the best troops in the army: their commander is called the *kharcagy bashi:* they are usually seven or eight leagues before the main body, and if there be Tartars in the army they disperse themselves on all sides, and pillage wherever they pass*.

* " Et quidem natura ipsa maximi et crudelissimi latrones sunt. Militiam non nisi spe prædæ exercent. Quum aliquo eundum est, itinere unius diei aut duorum reliquum exercitum præcedunt, igni ferroque omnia devastantes. Nonnunquam numerum triginta millium excedunt, quibus omnibus dux unus militari prudentia præditus præficitur. Enimvero ex hoc ordine extitere ii qui anno superiore, Solimano Viennam oppugnante, trans

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The *alaï*, or marshalling of the troops, is a march of ceremony, in which the Ottomans display the greatest pomp and magnificence. When the *pashàs* arrive at the place of general rendezvous, they each perform their respective *alaï*, which answers to a review: but in the general *alaï* the whole army is divided into five parts: the right and left wings, *sagh col* and *sol col;* the main body, *dìb alaï;* the van, *kharcagy;* and the rear *dondar*. In the front are the *serden guiechdi* *, followed by the janizaries led on by their *aga*. After these, the great guns, guarded and served by the *topgis* and *gebegis:* then the vizir, with his court and *segbani*, or guards of the baggage; on his right hand, the Asiatic horse, and on his left, the Euro-

urbem progressi, regionem Lincio adjacentem memorabili clade affecerunt, miserisque senibus crudeliter interfectis, ac locis igne consumptis, quam plurimos captivos abduxerunt." (Jovius, Turc. rer. comment. p. 48.)

* *Serden guiechdi* signifies persons devoted to desperate undertakings. In the Turkish armies they form what in other countries are called *enfans perdus*, or the forlorn hope. Meninski explains the word in his dictionary by "caput non curans, exponens, voluntarius." They are better known by the name of *delhi*, which, as Rycaut justly says, signifies as much as a mad fellow or a Hector. They are however brave, determined, and enterprizing. Those who enlist among the *serden guiechdi*, receive an augmentation of ten aspers a day for each campaign.

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pean. After the vizir comes the emperor, surrounded by his courtiers and his body guard of *bostangis;* the *spahis* of the red standard on his right, and on his left the *spahis* of the yellow. Then follow the military chests and provision waggons, with the company of merchants and artificers, who, by the imperial mandate, follow the camp, and furnish all the conveniences and luxuries of a city. The *dondar*, or bringers back, form the rear, and close the ceremony.

Their ancient order of battle was to form a kind of pyramid, the point of which was presented to the enemy. Few vacancies were left in the main body of the army, as the evolutions were chiefly made on the wings. The *serden guiechdi bashi* at the head of his desperadoes, consisting of about a thousand horse taken indifferently from the *capiculi* or the feudal troops, always formed the extreme point. They were supported by the *beylerbeys* of Romelia and Anatolia; the first on the right, and the second on the left, at the head of the European and Asiatic troops. The *pashas* commanding the militia of the distant provinces occupied the middle space. The grand vizir, with the infantry and artillery, formed the centre of the base; the

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timariots and *zaïms*, the extremities; and a corps de reserve, composed of *spahis*, terminated the whole. With this arrangement they marched to the attack, or they received the shock of the enemy. The *serden guiechdi* animated each other with their war shout of *allah, allah.* If after three repeated charges they failed in making an impression on the enemies line, they spread out to the right and left and opened a greater front, which in like manner gradually enlarged itself if it became necessary. If they succeeded in breaking the first battalions, they took in flank those who had not been exposed to their onset.

A spirit of emulation prevailed between the troops of Asia and Europe. Those who had been repulsed and dispersed, made the greatest efforts in order to rally and return to the charge. If the cavalry was broken and scattered, the artillery opened upon the enemy, and, by keeping up a heavy fire, gave time to the fugitives to recover themselves: there have been instances where they have renewed the fight with such a desperate valour as even to snatch the victory from the hands of the enemy. It has also happened, that the rear guard, engaged by oath to shed the last drop of blood in defence of the

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sacred standard of the prophet, has opposed the enemy with such determination as to give time to the broken troops to form anew, and thereby become masters of the field of battle. It is said to be from the jealousy of the other troops, who frequently saw the vanguard carry off all the honour of the victory, that this order of battle was changed for that of a crescent; and to this alteration their own chiefs have attributed the ill success of the Ottoman arms.

Modes of fighting,

The Turkish method of warfare is described by a traveller, who observed it during the last year of the war against Austria and Russia. The Turks, he says, who are represented as not possessing common sense in military affairs, nevertheless carry on war with some kind of method. They disperse themselves about, in order that the fire of the enemies battalions or artillery may not be directed against them: they take their aim with admirable precision, and direct their fire always against men collected in a body; masking their own manœuvres by their incessant firing: sometimes they intrench themselves in ravins or hollows, or conceal themselves upon trees; at other times they advance in several small companies, consist-

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ing of forty or fifty men, carrying a banderole or little flag, which they fix onwards in order to gain ground: the most advanced kneel down and fire, and fall back to reload their pieces; supporting each other in this manner, until, upon an advantage, they rush forward and advance their standard progressively. Such is their constant method; the different small bodies carefully observing a line or order in their progress, so as not to cover each other. The repeated shoutings and cries of *allah* encourage the Mussulmans, and together with the immediate decapitation of the wounded who fall into their power, produce an effect which sometimes alarms and disheartens the Christian soldier*. Dr. Wittman condemns the employment of such a multiplicity of standards, banners, and flags, which, he says, the Turks suppose to have the effect of inspiring the enemy with terror and dismay: but as it appears from his journal, that he had no opportunity of

* "L'instinct des Turcs, qui vaut souvent mieux que l'esprit des Chrétiens, les rend adroits et capables de faire tous les métiers à la guerre. Mais ils n'ont que la premiere réflexion: ils ne sont pas susceptibles de la seconde, et après avoir dépensé leur moment de bon sens, assez juste, assez adroit, ils tiennent du fou et de l'enfant." (Voyage à Constantinople, p. 197.)

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observing the Turks when actually engaged with the enemy, he probably may have exaggerated the inconvenience of these standards, though he justly stiles them trivial objects; for perhaps they do not in any considerable degree diminish the effective force which otherwise would be brought into action, nor do they seem to shackle and impede the military operations in the field of battle*.

and of defending their fortresses.

I have heard Russian officers commend the active valour and address of the Turks in their skirmishes with the loose troops and Cossaks, as well as their persevering courage in the defence of their fortresses: but it requires the actual presence of danger to induce them to use precaution, or to introduce regularity into the performance of military duty in their garrisons. When the Russian army was approaching Ismael, General Suwarow, wishing to know the state of defence in the Turkish fortress, despatched a few Cossaks, with orders to seize and bring away some person of the garrison. The Cossaks, under favour of the night, approached close to the wall of a battery, where the Turkish sentinel, after having finished his pipe, was

* See Dr. Wittman's Travels, p. 232.

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sitting cross-legged on one of the guns, and amusing himself with singing: his entertainment was interrupted by a rope with a slip knot, with which they pulled him to the ground, and dragged him away to the Russian head-quarters. An officer, who was present, assured me, that when the man's apprehensions as to his personal safety were removed, he indulged in a hearty fit of laughter at the ridiculousness of his own capture.

The mode in which the Ottomans wage war, appears vicious and imperfect when compared with later improvements in military science. Their system was, however, confessedly superior to the unmixed feudal institutions, which were contemporary with it in the other countries of Europe and Asia. The sultans owed the success of their arms during four centuries to the ameliorations which had been introduced into their establishments. Modern nations have, however, so far outstripped the Turks in the career of improvement, and their own confidence in their ancient modes of attack and defence is so weakened by a series of misfortunes, that they are generally considered, not merely as inferior to the enemies who are opposed to

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them, but as having degenerated from their warlike ancestors. The charge cannot indeed be wholly denied; yet I must declare, that, as far as my unbiassed, though perhaps imperfect, observation enables me to judge, a diffidence in the talents of their generals is all that distinguishes the modern from the ancient Turkish armies. We have seen them under different commanders, in the course of a single campaign, heroes at Acre, and most contemptible cowards at Aboukir. It is a just and true remark, that a nation suffers no real nor essential loss but when it loses the character to which it owed its success. Now when we consider, that this character among the Turks, as individuals, is unchanged, and that it is not impossible, that circumstances may arise which may call forth the talents of some great leader who may yet rekindle the spirit and organize the force of the nation, we should carefully guard, especially in such critical times as the present, against an indulgence of that contempt which some writers endeavour to excite*.

* My opinion on this subject is further confirmed by the following observation of a military traveller. "La religion et l'habitude sont deux barrières qui empêchent autant les Turcs

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If we may credit the Baron de Tott (and his sprightly egotisms seem to me to possess more veracity than his remarks show candour or judgment), we should place but little confidence in any of the tables which some authors have exhibited, as a view of the effective military force of the Turks. Indeed what information can a stranger hope to derive from any means within his reach, when the vizir was obliged, in order to ascertain the state of his own army, to have recourse to the reports in the Vienna gazette*? If we reflect upon the disorders, which have been before enumerated as having insinuated themselves into the Turkish armies, and the confusion which is inseparable from them, we must be convinced, that, although the Turkish nation be individually brave, it is less surprizing, that they are inefficient when united than that they do not disband immediately

Recapitulation.

d'avancer que de reculer. Je crois qu'on les accuse à tort d'avoir dégénéré. Les Turcs, qui ont fait deux fois le siège de Vienne, ressembloient, à peu de choses près, aux Turcs qui ont été vainqueurs à Karansebès, et vaincus à Martinesti. Les Turcs, qui ont rendu Ismaël, étoient aussi braves et aussi ignorans que ceux qui ont pris Rhodes. Ils sont à peu près au même point: ce sont les autres peuples qui ont fait des progrès." (Voyage à Constantinople, p. 155.)

* De Tott's Memoirs, v. iii, p. 181.

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after being collected together. According to the modern system of politics, which exhausts the wealth of the independent kingdoms of Europe by maintaining a standing army, greater, in many instances, than was formerly thought necessary for the defence of the Roman empire in the three parts of the globe, the military power of the Turks may perhaps be considered as disproportionate to the vast extent of their dominions. Marsigli calculated the total effective force of their armies, or that which could be brought into service against a foreign enemy, at about a hundred and sixty thousand men, after deducting those whom the public safety requires to be employed in the provinces and in guarding the high roads, and allowing for the fraudulent returns of the *toprakly* militia; an abuse which is now become so familiar that, in ordering levies, the state itself scarcely dares to count upon raising more than half the number of men who are entered upon the public registers*. The *capiculy*

* I am justified in rejecting as inaccurate the details of the Turkish military force as published by Mr. Eton, but I acknowledge the justness of his concluding censure of their armies (Survey, p. 72.), in which we find "none of those numerous details of a well-organized body, necessary to give quickness strength, and regularity to its actions, to avoid confusion, to

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are the only part of the Turkish armies susceptible of such improvement in discipline and tactics as to become capable of opposing in the field the regular troops of Christendom; and their number, from the limited revenues of the sultan, must always be inadequate to any great undertaking, or any efficacious resistance. The *toprakly* soldiery, being untaught and undisciplined, do not seem to merit a higher estimation than the provincial militia of the Christian states, and, on a re-

repair damages, to apply every part to some use: nothing, as with us, the result of reasoning and combination, no systematic attack, defence, or retreat, no accident foreseen or provided for."

Marsigli, whose calculation though made a century ago is perhaps the most correct of any which have hitherto been published, divides the whole military force of the Ottomans into two classes, and estimates the number of each as follows.

The *capiculy* consists of infantry and cavalry: the infantry, composed of *janizaries*, *agemoglans*, *topgis*, *gebegis*, and *sakkas*, amounts to 58,864 men, of whom 21,426 *janizaries* are required for the garrison and frontier towns: the cavalry, consisting of *spahis* and *chaoushes*, amounts to 15,284. The feudal militia, or the total of the contingents of all the *pashaliks*, the *ziamets*, and the *timars*, amounts to 126,292: besides which the Tartars formerly furnished 12,000 tributary soldiers; and the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia 8000 men, but these should not be considered as soldiers, as they were chiefly employed in servile labour, and many of them carried only a spade and pickaxe. The *serratculy* cannot be calculated, as they were enlisted only in time of war, and in such numbers as the service required. (See Stato militare dell' impèrio Ottomanno, t. i, p. 90, 134.)

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view of the disposable force of the Ottoman empire, should scarcely be taken into account; but to an invading army they oppose a resistance by no means to be despised. Every motive of enthusiasm, patriotism, and private interest, confirms the aversion of the Turks to the dominion of foreigners. In our own time the inhabitants of Bosnia, Albania, and Croatia, a hardy and warlike race, have successfully defended their religion and their country against the disciplined troops of the Emperor of Germany; and the French armies in Egypt met with more obstinate resistance from an armed yeomanry than they have since experienced in traversing the most warlike countries of Europe. The volunteers of Mecca, undismayed at the conquest of Lower Egypt, came, at their own expense, to attack a people of infidels. Armed with their lances, their daggers, and their fire-arms, they attacked with courage and resisted with obstinacy: though mortally wounded, their zeal and their animosity were unabated; and Denon saw one of these determined patriots wound two French soldiers, while they held him, pierced through the body with their bayonets, against a wall. It is pleasing to contrast the energies of an independent peo-

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ple with the slavish submission of those who see nothing but a change of governors in the subjugation of their country. The *fellahs* of Egypt, a race of people still more abject than the *rayahs* of Turkey, withheld their contributions from the French, as they formerly had done from the Mamelukes, until they discovered by the blows which were inflicted on them, that the rights of their former tyrants were transferred to their conquerors. But the *ojakli*, or householders, no less than the feudal proprietors, fought with valour, undiminished by the want of success, from the ruined walls of Alexandria to the ancient Roman frontier, Syene. The language of the historian bears unequivocal testimony to their patriotic virtue. Alexandria was taken by storm: the besiegers left two hundred soldiers in the breach through which they entered: but of the besieged none fled, they fell with glory on the spot which they had failed in defending*. With such examples before our eyes, we may be permitted to question the facility of subduing a people, whose country, from its very nature, must encourage their exertions and pro-

* Denon, Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute Egypte, t. i, p. 48, 223.

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tect their independence. "The allied nations of Europe have only to march," says Count Marsigli, "their greatest difficulty will be to divide the conquered country*." But though we now discover, since the blaze of the Ottoman power has decreased, that their former conquests were the chastisements of divine justice for the sins of Christendom, and that the sultans never were, and never will be strong in their own might; it perhaps still remains to be discovered, whether, in spite of the acknowledged debility of the empire, a people who would refuse to obey even their sultans if they ordered them to renounce their possessions in favour of a stranger, and whose country from the difficulty of forming magazines affords no facilities to the invader, would not give ambition cause to repent of its insatiable thirst of conquest.

Turkish laws of war.

War, in its mildest form, is a continued violation of justice and humanity: but the Turks have been reproached with systematic cruelty, and premeditated breach of faith. It is however untrue, that the Turkish laws of warfare condemn all the prisoners to death; for captives were always esteemed the most

* Stato militare dell' impèrio Ottomanno, t. ii, p. 199.

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valuable part of the booty, and quarter was seldom refused to the submissive, unless danger was apprehended from the number of the prisoners, or the irruption of an enemy prevented their being carried off. All the riches of a city taken by storm are usually promised by the emperors to the soldiers, and they reserve to themselves only the buildings and the government. To this cause is to be attributed the too frequent breach of treaty, or the murdering of prisoners contrary to capitulation. Cantemir says, that "if a garrison are to lay down their arms, and only a knife or a hatchet is found on any one, the Turks immediately call out, that the treaty is broken, and butcher their defenceless enemies." But though it be certainly better for Christians to perish fighting, and with arms in their hands, than to experience such treachery, yet, even in these instances, the chiefs must be acquitted of duplicity. Subordination, in such moments, is almost entirely dissolved, and the commanders, even the sultans themselves, are frequently compelled to yield to the violence of the soldiery, who are flushed with success, or infuriated by resistance*. The in-

* "Ce n'est pas aux principes du *cour'ann* qu'il faut attribuer les excès qui leur sont justement reprochés; ils sont l'effet néces-

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fraction of the treaty, made by Mahomet the Fourth with the emperor of Germany, is supposed, by pious Mussulmans, to have been the effective cause of all the subsequent disgrace of their armies, and the misfortunes of their empire: therefore I doubt, and even venture to contradict, the assertion, "that this sentence of the *ulema*, with thousands more of the same kind, stands on record, that a treaty, made with the enemies of God and his prophet, might be broken; there being nothing so worthy a Mahometan as to undertake the entire destruction of Christians*."

The treatment of prisoners who are considered as private property, consequently varies according to the passions of the captor: that of public prisoners is indeed deserving of reprobation. I have seen them in the bagnio, loaded with irons, coupled with the vilest felons, and forced to common labour, with the same undistinguishing inhumanity. The prisoners of their own nation are abandoned to the mercy of their enemies:

saire de l'insubordination des troupes, de la férocité du soldat, sur-tout quand il est victorieux, et d'une foule de circonstances, absolument étrangères aux lois de l'Islamisme." (Tab. Gén. t. iv, p. 203.)

* Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 109.

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the Turkish government expresses no anxiety as to their fate: they are neither ransomed, nor exchanged; and their Christian conquerors condemn them to a state of slavery, with no compassion to alleviate their sufferings, and no hope, however distant, of deliverance*.

The Turkish forces at sea have always been contemptible. During the siege of Constantinople, their navy, consisting of three hundred vessels, was baffled by one Imperial, and four Genoese, ships, which threw succours of men and supplies of provisions into the capital. Sandys says, "that they did not hazard the revenue of Egypt by sea, for Turkish navy.

* Denon (t. i, p. 27.) thus describes the joy of the Turkish prisoners in Malta on being released by the French. "Pour prendre une idée de leur extrême satisfaction dans cette circonstance, il faut savoir que leur gouvernement ne les rachetoit et ne les échangeoit jamais, que leur esclavage n'étoit adouci par aucun espoir; ils ne pouvoient pas même rêver la fin de leurs peines."

As I have not had the advantage of travelling in Italy, I must quote Mr. Griffiths with caution. He says, (p. 11.), "in the prisons of Genoa I beheld the very lowest pitch of human wretchedness and degradation! A number of aged Turks were chained to the wall in stone recesses, at a short distance from each other; and some still more aged, in cells, so low that they were never able to stand upright! Many of these men of misery appeared to have lost all sense or recollection; and one, who particularly attracted my attention, had counted no less than twenty-seven years of captivity."

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fear of the Florentines, who, with six ships, had kept the bottom of the straits for three years." Their disasters, in their several sea-fights with the Venetians and the Russians, are well known; and in their late co-operation with the English, during the Egyptian campaign, the contrast was striking, between the beauty of their ships, and the ignorance and timidity of their officers and people.

Mr. Eton, and Mr. Griffiths in a still more recent publication, venture to describe the present state of the Turkish navy from the remarks of Baron de Tott, or from their own transient observations made twenty years ago. The Turks, indeed, although the *canon nameh* of Sultan Soliman contains many regulations for the improvement of their navy, considered it as an object of inferior importance, until the destruction of their fleet by the Russians in the harbour of Tcheshmeh. Since that event the government has occupied itself seriously in the establishment of a respectable naval force, and the zeal which the celebrated Hassan Pasha first displayed in this branch of service, has been inherited by all who have succeeded him in the post of *capudan pasha*: so that such language as the following cannot now be applied with truth to any

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department of the marine service of the Ottomans. "High-decked vessels, the lower tier laid under water with the least wind, entangled rigging, bad cordage and pullies, thirty men in the gun-room to move the tiller, encumbered decks, and guns without equality in the calibre*."

I went on board some ships of war on their return from a cruise in the Black Sea, in the year 1790, and certainly saw a confusion which it is impossible to describe. It was a perfect *bazar*, or market-place, and shops were erected all round the between-decks, with no apparent intention of removing them. De Tott says, with an affected levity, which is highly unbecoming when describing the manners of a nation, "that the proposition to lower the decks was rejected, *on account of the height of their turbans*, and that of raising the mast, because it would occasion the vessel to heel, *and incommode the crew*†." But the fault was in those who suggested such improvements without sufficiently correcting the pertness of manner which outweighed, at least in the estimation of Turks, the merit of their advice. Why should im-

* See De Tott's Memoirs, v. iii, p. 20.

† Memoirs, v. iii, p. 178.

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provements, so evidently necessary, have been rejected, at the same period, when, upon proposing a new school for mathematics, it was immediately established? Upon pointing out the use of the bayonet, the bayonet was adopted. Upon De Tott's suggestion, a machine was erected for masting vessels. A new foundery of cannon was built. A body of artillery-men was instituted, and forts were erected on the northern shores of the Bosphorus, to secure the passage of the Black Sea. The mildness of manners of a French ship-builder of the name of Le Brun*, whom Hussein Pasha engaged in the Ottoman service, removed every obstacle to the exertion of his great abilities, and in a short space of time a complete reform was introduced into the department which he superintended.

Their navy now consists of several good ships, built by Europeans, or from European models, but manned by people unaccustomed to the sea. They have not yet formed any plan for educating and training up seamen, though the Propontis is well

* This gentleman is now in the service of the emperor of Russia. His talents may be appreciated by Englishmen, as he built the Commerce de Marseilles, a first-rate ship of very large dimensions, now in our service.

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adapted for naval evolutions, and might be made an excellent school of practical navigation. Their officers, not having passed through the different ranks, merit no higher estimation than the common men; indeed almost the whole business of the ship is performed by the slaves, or by the Greeks who are retained upon wages.

Those accustomed to the strict subordination and punctilious formalities established in the armies and navies of other European powers, may smile perhaps at hearing, that the captain of a man of war has been cuffed in public by the admiral's own hand for a slight offence. I remember too to have seen a journal kept by an Englishman (an adventurer who served on board the Turkish fleet in the Black Sea, during a cruise in the year 1790) which contained the following remark. "This day the admiral amused himself with playing at chess on the quarter-deck with a common sailor."

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Note (A) page 8.

SIR WILLIAM JONES announced his intention of publishing a dissertation on the manners of the Arabians before the time of Mahomet, illustrated by the seven poems which were written in letters of gold, and suspended in the temple of Mecca about the beginning of the sixth century. It is much to be regretted, that, though the poems were published in 1783, yet he could not command leisure for the composition of the intended dissertation. The general criticism which he has passed on each of these seven poems, in his commentary on the Asiatic poetry *, will however show, how very different must have been the state of manners and society in Arabia from that which prevailed in Asiatic Scythia, previously to the establishment, or the introduction, of the Mahometan religion. Sir William Jones does not hesitate to compare them with the song of Solomon, as well in animated gayety and floweriness of diction, as in the various and

* See Poes. Asiat. Comment. cap. iii.

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delicate comparisons, the exquisite choice of words, and the neat lustre of images. An exposition of the general argument of these idylls, and a selection of some particular passages will serve to illustrate the subject of ancient Arabian manners, and will show, that the Arabs, instead of learning from the Spaniards, rather communicated to them the romantic character, which it seems their new religion had not eradicated.

It is necessary to premise, that Yemen, or the happy Arabia, is situate between the eleventh and fifteenth degrees of north latitude, under a serene sky, and exposed to the most favourable influence of the sun, enclosed on one side by vast rocks and deserts, and defended on the other by a tempestuous sea; so that all the images of beauty or sublimity, whatever natural objects can affect the senses with lively and pleasing, or with gloomy and terrible, ideas, are equally familiar to the imagination of its inhabitants.

The ancient Arabians had fallen almost universally into the common error of paying divine worship to the firmament and the heavenly bodies; yet the religion of the noble and the learned appears rather to have been theism, for their poets, in verses of

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undoubted antiquity, utter sentiments of the purest piety towards *Allah*, the supreme being*.

The Arabians honoured no arts except skill in military atchievements (to which horsemanship was subservient), and poetry and rhetoric. They aspired to no fame except from the display of valour, the exercise of hospitality, and the practice of eloquence†. The learning of the nation was comprised in their poems. To poetry was consigned whatever was judged worthy of being rescued from oblivion; the series of their genealogies, the exploits of their families, and the history of their tribes. They laboured to refine and enrich their language in order to give perfection to their poetry, and the perfection of their poetry gave back stability to their copious idiom: so that poetry became the repository and the term of their knowledge, to which all that was useful was contributed, and whose stores of instruction were open for all the purposes of life‡. The birth of a son, or the fall of

* See Discourse on the Arabs, Jones's works, v. i, p. 42.

† See Herodotus, lib. iii. Pocock. orat. ante carmen Tograi, p. 10. Discourse on the Arabs, p. 48.

‡ See Pocock. orat. ante carmen Tograi, p. 10.

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a foal of a generous breed, was a subject of congratulation to an Arabian family; but the tribe derived its greatest honour from the celebrity of a poet. Gellaleddinn relates, that the surrounding tribes offered their felicitations on the occasion, they themselves instituted feasts and public solemnities, and their women, adorned as for nuptials, beat their tymbals before their husbands and children, congratulating their tribe, that its name would now be safe from decay, and the exploits of its heroes be perpetuated to the latest posterity *. The *moallakât* itself (which was the name given to the seven poems from the circumstance of their being hung up in the temple of Mecca, as they were called *modhahabât*, or the golden, from their having been written in letters of gold on folds of Egyptian silk †), as it proves the high honour in which poetry was publicly held, indicates also a high degree of civilization among the people of Arabia. Indeed if civilization be estimated not according to the usages or the prejudices of

* Ebn Raschik, apud Pocock. Spec. p. 160.

† See D'Herbelot, bibl. Orient. voc. *Moallacat*, p. 386. Pocock. Spec. p. 159, 381, et in calce notarum in carmen Tograi, p. 233.

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any particular country, but appreciated according to a more correct and general standard, we have certain proof, in the urbanity and eloquence, the domestic and military virtues of the Arabians, that they were eminently civilized for many ages before their conquest of Persia.

The Arabians divide their time between their military expeditions and the occupations of pastoral life. They remove their tents from place to place, and when their cattle and camels have consumed all the pasturage of a district, they quit it until, on the return of a new season, it shall again be covered with verdure *. In this continual change of encampment, the tribes which occasionally become neighbours, hold together a familiar, though a temporary, intercourse, during which the young people of both sexes form alliances of inclination, which, because of the incessant removals of their abode, and the consequent separation of the parties, terminate for the most part in disappointment and regret †. For this reason almost all the poems of the Arabians, whatever be the prin-

* See Strabo, l. 16, p. 1084.

† See Traité sur la poésie Orientale, sect. iii. Jones's works, vol. v, p. 456.

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cipal subject, open by the lover's lamenting the absence of his mistress: he weeps over the vestiges of her forsaken habitation, addresses his regrets to his friends, who vainly endeavour to comfort him, and announces his resolution to discover her retreat and follow her in the midst of her tribe, though the road should be beset with the monsters of the desert, and her dwelling be surrounded by the bravest and most vigilant of her countrymen. "Stay"—says the poet to the friends who accompany him on his journey—"Let us weep at the remembrance of our beloved, at the sight of the station where her tent was raised by the edge of yon bending sands*." He sighs on surveying the black stones, on which her cauldron used to be raised, and the channel round her tent, like the margin of a fish-pond which time has not destroyed †. "Are these," he exclaims, "the only traces of my beloved? Are these the silent ruins of her mansion, from which when I saw her depart, musk was diffused from her robe, as the eastern gale disperses the fragrance of clove-gilliflowers? Then

* Poem of Amriolkais, ver. 1.

† Poem of Zohair, ver. 4.

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gushed the tears from my eyes, through excess of regret, and flowed down my neck till my sword-belt was drenched in the stream." His friends, in order to alleviate his affliction, urge several topics of consolation: they remind him, not only, that he had before suffered disappointment equally painful, but, that he had enjoyed his full share of happiness. The recollection of past enjoyment suspends his present griefs, and kindles his imagination: he relates with how many spotless virgins, whose tents had not yet been frequented, he has held soft dalliance; how he visited the bower of his mistress, though it was surrounded by guards, and in the midst of a hostile tribe who would have been eager to proclaim his death, while the night covered with darkness, as with the waves of a boundless ocean, the arid and pathless desert, whose silence was interrupted only by the howlings of the tyger; how he passed over the summits of rocks where the ostrich wanders, and where the spirits of the mountains utter their heart-piercing cries*. "I approached—she stood expecting me by

* See Traité sur la poésie Orient. sect. 1.

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the curtain, and, as if she was preparing for sleep, had put off all her vesture but her night-dress. She said, by him who created me (and gave me her lovely hand), I am unable to refuse thee; for I perceive, that the blindness of thy passion is not to be removed.—I drew her towards me by her curled locks, and she softly inclined to my embrace*."

But love, however powerful its influence must be on "souls made of fire," on men living in the contemplation of the most delightful objects, and the enjoyment of perpetual spring†, is not the exclusive and predominant passion of the Arab. The honour and the interest of his family and his tribe engage him in continual war. His own fortitude, and the swiftness of his horse, to which, and to the immensity of his plains, the Arab is indebted for his freedom‡), are equally the subjects of his commendation. He describes the beauty, the speed, and the spirit of the noble animal with the same luxuriance of

* Poem of Amriolkais, ver. 24, 25, 28.

† See La Roque, voy. dans l'Arabie heureuse, p. 121, 123, 153.

‡ Pocock. in calce notarum ad carmen Tograi.